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ENGLISH LITERATURE IN GERMANY

BY

LAWRENCE MARSDEN PRICE

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To Mary Bell Price

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INTRODUCTION

THIRTY YEARS AGO I sent prematurely into the world a work called *English-German Literary Influences: Bibliography and Survey.* As the title indicated, the text consisted chiefly of a running commentary on the works listed in the bibliography, with some attempt to play a judicial role where authorities were in conflict. One of my most able critics neatly quoted a one-time judgment of Lessing: "Es sind mehr Collectanea zu einem Buch als ein Buch." Despite its shortcomings the edition was exhausted and ten years later I was enabled to substitute another work, which with due indulgence might be called a book. I gave it the title *The Reception of English Literature in Germany,* published it in 1932, dedicated it to my teacher, Alexander Rudolf Hohlfeld, and hoped that my earlier intrusion into the field might be forgotten, but to my distress I still find it quoted at times with disregard of my later and better considered formulations.

It has been said that the second version, like its predecessor, was unphilosophical. The same criticism holds true of this third and last version, and frankly I cannot say I wish it otherwise, for unless I am mistaken some of the philosophical critics wished for a work in which it should be demonstrated in what ways the German "Geist" differed from the English spirit or was superior or inferior to it. As I am skeptical regarding "Nationalgeist," I could not embark upon any such discussion. Many years ago under the reign of good Queen Victoria, a child was observed by its fond mother seated on the sofa completely engrossed in a book. Gravely concerned, the mother inquired what might be the nature of the work, and on learning that it was a play by one Racine, she gently but firmly removed it, saying: "If you must read plays, at least avoid the frivolous French products and read our sound, stout, British authors." So saying, she placed in the hands of her erring daughter a volume of Wycherley's plays.

That English literature "influenced" German literature to a certain extent was my hypothesis in part, but influence is only a phase of education and as Lessing said: "Erziehung gibt dem Menschen nichts, was er nicht auch aus sich selber haben könnte, nur geschwinder und leichter." Now it happens to be true that England passed through certain stages of the transition from Middle Age tutelage to modern free thought somewhat earlier than Germany and hence could stand as an instructive example. That, however, is not a philosophical idea but a historical fact and it was my task to define the successive stages of this development in England and in Germany. It seemed most convenient to do this by

considering the qualities of certain English men of letters and observing what they meant to writers in Germany.

The second version too was in the nature of a survey. It is now twenty-one years old and, as everyone knows, when a survey has reached such maturity it should be relegated to a back shelf. Much progress has been made during the interval in the study of English-German literary relations. The accession to the bibliography of over four hundred new items will give some idea of the activity of the investigators during the last two decades. New connections have been established and statements, formerly accepted as facts, have required reëxamination, reformulation, or retraction.

The necessary retractions weigh naturally most heavily on my conscience. First of all I wish to revoke the greater part of all that was said in regard to the art of the English comedians in Germany in the seventeenth century. Scholars have used their best ingenuity to describe the stage of the comedians on the basis of the collection called *Englische Comoedien und Tragödien*, 1620, but since the appearance of an article by Nordström regarding the "authorship" of that collection by a theatrical tyro and the thoroughgoing study of the text by Fredén [135] in 1940, past theories are for the most part inadmissible. Yet Baeseke [99], writing seven years after the first publications of Nordström and Fredén, pursued the former profitless course, and the recent monumental work by Stahl, *Shakespeare und das deutsche Theater*, 1948 [665], accepts the pre-Fredénian descriptions as valid. The truth of the matter is, I believe, that the Swedish monograph is practically unknown in Germany. I have seen no German review, for that matter no English review except my own. May this volume serve to hinder the further spread of ancient error in this field.

It is not necessary here to record all the minor suppressions and revisions but the more substantial additions may be noted. It has been the tradition to begin such a survey with references to the popularity of the English moral weeklies around 1720, but I have reached the conviction that the account should begin with the earlier philosophical and religious concernments of England in the late seventeenth century. These became known to the learned in Germany and paved the way for the more popular work of such men as Pope, Addison, Thomson, and Young and their acceptance in Germany. This earlier period is a neglected field of study. I have contented myself with an indication of the importance of Holland as a mediator of new ideas.

The treatment of Shakespeare in Germany, though the largest single theme of my work, was relatively the least adequate. I have now included

a fuller account of the translations and adaptations from the time of Wieland to the present day and have brought the creative work of the "Sturm und Drang" dramatists and of the early German romantic poets into closer relation with Shakespeare. Added also is some account of the stage history in Germany of the dramas of Shakespeare and of the Shakespearean connections of Büchner and Hauptmann. For all this I am indebted to the recent work of German scholars. For my own part I have made some minor explorations in the field of the middle-class drama of the eighteenth century, and the dramatization of works by Richardson, Fielding, Sterne, and Goldsmith. In place of the chapter on Dickens in Germany now stands a chapter on the Victorian novel in Germany. Finally now that the century has half passed it was possible in the last chapter to inquire what the Germans of our own day are deriving from English literature. All chapters have been reconsidered, but some revised only in detail. The main facts regarding the vogue of Pope, Thomson, Milton, Young, Percy, Byron, and Scott in Germany have been long and well established.

The aim of this work, like that of its predecessors, is not to prove anything, but merely to counteract the tendency of confining the study of German and English literature along nationalistic lines and to make easier the first steps of those who are inclined to strive for the same goal.

Part One

REFORMATION AND RENAISSANCE

ABBREVIATIONS

See also the list on p. 391

Eckermann, *Gespräche*	Eckermann, *Gespräche mit Goethe*, Leipzig, Insel Verlag, 1923; 796 pp.
Goethe,* *Werke*	Goethe, *Werke*, Weimar, 1887–1919; 123 vols.
Hagedorn, *Werke*	Hagedorn, *Poetische Werke*, ed. J. J. Eschenburg, Hamburg, 1800; 5 vols.
Haller, *Gedichte*	Haller, *Gedichte*, ed. L. Hirzel, Frauenfeld, 1882 (Bibliothek älterer Schriftwerke der deutschen Schweiz . . . III); cxxvi + 423 pp.
Haller, *Tagebuch*	Haller, *Tagebuch seiner Beobachtungen über Schriftsteller und über sich selbst*, ed. Heinzmann, Bern, 1787; 2 vols.
Heine, *Werke*	Heine, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. O. Walzel, Leipzig, 1915; 10 vols.
Herders Briefwechsel	*Herders Briefwechsel mit Caroline Flachsland*, ed. H. Schauer, Schriften der Goethe-Gesellschaft XXXIX (1926) and XLI (1928).
Herder, *Werke*	Herder, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Suphan, Berlin, 1877–1913; 33 vols.
Lessing, *Schriften*	Lessing, *Sämtliche Schriften*, ed. Lachmann-Muncker, Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1886–1924; 23 vols.
Ludwig, *Schriften*	Ludwig, *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. Ad. Stern and E. Schmidt, Leipzig, 1891; 6 vols.
Robinson, *Diary*	Henry Crabb Robinson, *Diary, Reminiscences and Correspondence*, London, 1869; 3 vols.
Schiller, *Briefe*	Schiller, *Briefe*, ed. F. Jonas, Stuttgart, etc., 1896; 7 vols.
Schiller, *Werke*	Schiller, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Güntter and Witkowski, Leipzig, 1920 ff.; 20 vols.
Voltaire, *Œuvres*	Voltaire, *Œuvres complètes*, Paris, 1883–1885; 52 vols.
Wieland, *Briefe*	Wieland, *Ausgewählte Briefe an verschiedene Freunde . . . 1751–1810*, ed. Gessner, Zürich 1815; 4 vols.
Wieland,* *Schriften*	Wieland, *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. Homeyer, Kurrelmeyer, Stadler *et al.* Berlin, 1909 ff. Incomplete to 1950; 20 vols.

* Since the works of Goethe and Wieland, cited above, and of Jean Paul appear in series, Roman numerals are used in the footnotes to indicate the series; the following Arabic numerals (in parenthesis) indicate the volume.

Chapter I

SCHOLARS, COURTIERS, AND CHURCHMEN

Wenn man eines neusüchtigen Deutschlings Herz öffnen und sehen sollte, würde man augenscheinlich befinden, daß fünf Achtel desselben französisch, ein Achtel spanisch, eins italienisch und kaum eins deutsch daran gefunden werde. (Moscherosch, *Wahrhafftige Gesichte Philanders von Sittewald*, 1632.)

Johann Michael Moscherosch thus leads us to infer that with all the xenomania in the Germany of his time there was no recognizable proportion of anglomania. "Der neusüchtige Deutschling" naturally took his tone from the courts, where German was rarely heard. Italian was used for a time in South Germany, Vienna, and Hesse; English was affected for a short time at Heidelberg, but with a few exceptions French prevailed.

German literature in the seventeenth century was similarly under the spell of foreign influence. Nearly all its conspicuous features, its trends of taste, and its representative personalities emphasize this fact. The characteristic literary society of the time was the "Sprachgesellschaft." The "Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft," later called the "Palmenorden," was founded in 1617 by Prinz Ludwig von Anhalt-Köthen. The "Teutschgesinnte Genossenschaft" of Hamburg (founded 1643) was led by the purist Zesen. The "Pegnitzschäfer" of Nuremberg (founded 1644) were under the sponsorship of the grammarians Klaj and Harsdörffer. The "Elbschwanen" (Hamburg, 1660–1667) were under the leadership of Johann Rist. A common chief aim of all these and similar societies was the purification of the German language especially from French and Latin words, but foreign encroachment was fended by foreign technique: the model of the "Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft" was the "Accademia della Crusca" of Florence, 1587. The cult of the vernacular was furthermore a common Renaissance tendency.

By common consent Martin Opitz was the spokesman of orthodox literary opinion of his time and country. When still a young man, he had protested in a well-written Latin treatise, *Aristarchus sive de Contemptu Linguae Teutonicae*, 1617, against the excessive use of Latin and foreign languages in Germany. He made it his life work to show that Germany could have all the literary genres possible in other languages. There is something less than complete literary independence in this very endeavor. Even his *Buch von der teutschen Poeterey* had many predecessors. One of the earliest in Renaissance times was that of Hieronymus Vida, which appeared in Rome in 1527 under the title: *De Arte Poetica: Libri*

Tres. The *Poetices: Libri Septem* of J. C. Scaliger were published in Lyons in 1561, two years after his death; his seven-book division was retained by most of his successors. Du Bellay of the French "Pléiade" wrote his *Défense et illustration de la langue françoise* in 1549, which his colleague Ronsard contracted into the *Abrégé de l'art poétique*, 1565. Sir Philip Sidney wrote his *Apologie for Poetry* in the years 1579–1580. Martin Opitz studied at Leyden, 1620, under the noted Dutch grammarian Heinsius, author of *Nederduytsche Poemata*, 1616, before producing his own *Buch von der teutschen Poeterey* in 1624. Again we have the typical advance from Italy through the Romanic countries to England and thence indirectly to Germany, this time by way of Holland. More frequently England's contribution to the common stream passed back into Germany by way of France, while still other currents flowed directly from France or Italy into Germany, leaving England out of the course.

Germany conformed tardily to a change of taste in fiction. The love story reached its climax in *Amadis of Gaul*, a Spanish novel of 1508. This type of novel had enjoyed a great popularity, but a reaction in favor of the simple life had already set in. Sannazaro's *Arcadia* (Naples, 1504), Montemayor's *Diana* (Portugal, 1524), d'Urfé's *L'Astrée* (France, 1607–1625), and finally the *Arcadia* of Sidney, 1590 (German, 1629), indicate, when taken together, the peripheral European advance of pastoral prose and poetry into interior Germany.

The ornate, bombastic, or "high baroque" style which came into vogue with Hofmann von Hofmannswaldau and Lohenstein after 1650 had its predecessors in other countries. In Spain it was represented by Góngora (1561–1627) and in Italy by Marino, whose *Strage degli innocenti* appeared in 1630. Daniel Kasper von Lohenstein (1635–1683) with his "Lohensteinischer Schwulst," was accordingly one of the last of a long lineage.

Intercourse between German and English scholars was at most sporadic, but Erasmus spent much of his time between 1497 and 1517 in Oxford and Cambridge, Daniel Morhof visited England twice, 1660–1661 and 1670–1671. He was inclined to disclaim the title "father of literary history" and accord it to Francis Bacon, who was held in the highest esteem by the learned circles in Germany. The earliest complete edition of Bacon's works, *Opera omnia, quae extant*, was published in Frankfurt in 1665, and thus made available to German scholars in the original Latin. Among those associated with Bacon in the founding of the Royal Society was Theodor Haake. The English society provided sanction and model for later German scientific societies and the *New Atlantis* was a respected authority on the organization of such bodies.[1] Johann Balthasar

[1] Minkowski [51].

Schupp derived many of his ideas on agriculture, commerce, and education from Bacon.[2]

It is convenient to divide the remaining literary figures of the time into two groups, the men of the world (or courtiers) and the men of the church, and to consider first the former. At the outset we are confronted with a difficulty in tracing connections. Before the nineteenth century few Englishmen of note visited Germany and before the eighteenth century few Germans visited England. However, among the latter we may note Prinz Ludwig von Anhalt-Köthen, the head of the "Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft"; his nephew Christian II; Johannes Lauremberg; Quirin Kühlmann; Theodore Haake, the first translator of Milton; Gottlieb von Berge, his second translator; Philipp von Zesen; Christian Wernigke;[3] Georg Rudolf Weckherlin; and Hofmann von Hofmannswaldau, who seems to have acquired a fair knowledge of contemporary English literature during his short stay in England. Among the works with which he was familiar was Drayton's *Polyalbion* and perhaps also his *England's Heroical Epistles*. Thus the possibility emerges that this collection rather than Horace's or similar ones in other literatures may have provided the stimulus for his *Heldenbriefe*.[4]

Georg Rudolph Weckherlin alone of the group became permanently absorbed into English life. He was already a trained public servant and acknowledged master of poetry when he took up his permanent abode in England in 1619. At Paris and at London he had witnessed public celebrations in honor of royalty and knew of the poems written by Malherbe, Chapman, and Dekker. When called upon to write a poem in honor of a state occasion in Württemberg he introduced the new Renaissance style where formerly Latin verse or German "Knittelvers" had prevailed, and shortly afterward he was able to greet the Princess Elizabeth, the daughter of James I, at Stuttgart with a sufficiently elegant and correct poem in her own language, "The Triumfall Shews set forth lately, Stutgard, 1616." His *Oden und Gesänge*, 1618, marked the introduction of the Renaissance style in Germany. Before his final removal to England he had already married Frances Raworth, the daughter of the later mayor of Dover. In England too he was engaged in state affairs, which brought him into communication with men of rank and note, but his family life was spent within middle-class circles, and this influence finally prevailed. Weckherlin served under James I and Charles I, but when the conflict arose it found him on the side of the Long Parliament.[5]

[2] Zschau [45].
[3] Muncker [10] 4–30.
[4] C. Grant Loomis. An unpublished essay.
[5] Forster [49].

Weckherlin translated some of the *Eclogues* of Spenser for his *Oden und Gesänge*. He translated Sir Henry Wotton's poem, "The Character of a Happy Life," Sylvester's "The Soul's Errand," and an anonymous poem, "The Choyce of a Wife."[6] He was personally acquainted with few men of letters in England, perhaps only with Sir Henry Wotton. When Milton's eyes began to fail, Weckherlin became his assistant in the office of foreign affairs, but the connection between the two poets remained purely official. In Weckherlin's abundant diaries and letters there is no mention of Shakespeare.[7] On the whole it must be said that his English experiences had little effect on Weckherlin and still less on German poetry as a whole. His early acquaintance with French poetry was decisive. His poetry shows the influence of Du Bellay, Ronsard, and Malherbe, but only slightly or not at all of Spenser, Wyatt, Surrey, Sidney, and Lyly.[8]

Of these English poets Sidney was best known in Germany. His *Arcadia*, 1590, was admired by Opitz, Harsdörffer, Schirmer, and Birken, but was criticized unfavorably by Schupp. A translation of 1629 was revised by Opitz in 1638,[9] but there are few specific traces of Sidney in Opitz's *Schäfferey von der Nimfen Hercynie*, 1629. Opitz translated also, in 1626, John Barclay's *Argenis*, 1617–1620, using the original Latin and a French version as bases.[10] Such competent critics as Schupp and Morhof found fault with the translation and even condemned the original Latin as a dangerous model for the young. On the other hand, the work found favor with Harsdörffer, Buchner, and Birken. Kindermann's *Die unglückliche Nisette*, 1669, imitated it. Zesen's *Die adriatische Rosemund*, 1645, bears traces of Sidney's style as does his *Assenat*, 1670, to a still greater degree. Grimmelshausen's *Simplicissimus*, 1668, profited by its technique[11] and Christian Weise's drama *Von der sizilianischen Argenis*, 1684, made extensive use of it.

The influence of the once famous Welsh epigrammatist John Owen of Carnarvonshire (1563–1622) may be regarded as a healthful one, for he set a good example of pithiness and terseness. Among the German poets who tried to translate his Alexandrines or vied with him in like form were Rist, Fleming, Weckherlin, Gryphius, and Morhof. It is not generally known that Opitz too participated in the competition with

[6] Forster [50].
[7] Forster [49] 25 and 141.
[8] E. F. Johnson, "Weckherlin's *Eclogues of the Seasons*." Johns Hopkins diss., Tübingen, 1922; chap. x: "English influence on the *Eclogues*."
[9] Cf. Waterhouse [40] and Wurmb [64].
[10] Schmidt [53] 77.
[11] von Bloedau [54] 22 f.

over a hundred verses.[12] But all their efforts were excelled by Friedrich von Logau's *Sinngetichte*, 1654.[13]

Contrary to the view of Herford,[14] which has prevailed until recently, the religious literature of England came to Germany abundantly from the time of the beginning of the Reformation. The dispute of Henry VIII with Luther and with the pope and the religious dissensions of the time of Elizabeth and of "bloody Mary" produced a mass of controversial declarations and tracts which were sold at the "Büchermessen."[15] Most of these works were in Latin, and some, written in English, had to be translated into Latin in order to be salable in Germany.

The number of works translated from Latin into German for the benefit of the larger public was not great, but under this rubric we may mention especially two plays by George Buchanan, *Jepthes sive Votum*, 1554, and *Baptistes sive Calumnia*, 1578. The earliest of several translations of these works appeared respectively in 1569 and 1583.[16]

Nor did the Catholic literature of England remain unknown in Germany, where Thomas More's *Utopia* (Paris, 1516) was widely read by the learned. Erasmus caused a second edition to be printed in Basel in 1518. A German translation also appeared in Basel in 1524. In 1612 a second German translation came out in Leipzig, followed the next year by *Mundus Alter et Idem*, or *Utopia, Pars II*. The translator has been identified as Gregorius Wintermonath. Sale of this work was slow. There were remainders of the edition as late as 1704. Possibly Germans preferred to read the work in the original Latin. The author of this second part was not Thomas More. It is now generally attributed to Joseph Hall. It is a satire directed against the faults of the church, first published in Hanau, 1607, or perhaps even earlier in Frankfurt before 1605. Later editions appeared in Utrecht, 1643, and Munich, 1664.[17] Other works of Hall were also well known in Germany. His *Balm of Gilead*, 1646, was translated in 1663 and his *Characters of Vices and Virtues*, 1608, in 1628.[18]

Schöffler has called the period of religious conflict in England the dark age of its literature. From 1600 to 1700 there was but one class which had the necessary education and leisure to provide works of imagination and beauty in abundance, and that was the clergy. The clergy, however, maintained that to feed the imagination with old wives' tales was to lead away from the paths of virtue and distract from the reading of the Bible.

[12] Loomis. See footnote 4, above.
[13] Urban [60].
[14] Herford [31].
[15] Wiem [29] 3.
[16] *Ibid.*, 131 ff. and 150.
[17] Waterhouse [40] 39–42.
[18] *Ibid.*, 102–104.

Schöffler says: "Zwischen Reformation und Aufklärung, d.h., etwa fünf Generationen lang, ist auf britischem Boden kein weltlich-schöngeistiges Buch in der Landessprache erschienen, das den Namen eines in Amt befindlichen Geistlichen als Verfassers trüge."[19] This extreme statement is supported by a broad survey and due consideration of seeming exceptions.

In 1660 came the Restoration. The Whigs came into power in 1689, and men of latitudinarian views gained advancement in church and state. The arrival of the Hannoverian kings, 1714, consolidated the gains. Soon after, we find the clergy laying claim to all the vices and follies of the day, including even the writing of novels and plays. Presently a new alignment is obvious. The church and rationalism appear as allies in the fight against immorality. The formerly hostile groups begin to make graceful bows to each other. Milton led the way with a poetic and imaginative picture of the Christian universe. Addison demonstrated the greatness of Milton, and Young concluded a literary history with a description of how the Christian hero, meaning Addison, died.

A like development took place in Switzerland. Differences began to develop within the Calvinistic religion. Calvin himself, less rigid than some of his successors, maintained that he who believes in the Bible and has a guiltless conscience is not under compulsion to deny himself all the pleasures of life. One should enjoy life as if one did not enjoy it, or, otherwise stated, the Christian is permitted to be happy, but only with a sour face. Calvin's more zealous followers regarded all feelings of pleasure as a lure of the devil. When in 1618 a synod was held in Dordrecht in Holland to regulate matters of belief and conduct, it was the Swiss representatives who stood solidly for the severer doctrines. Their zeal and unity carried the day, but Holland was lost. By 1670 the ideas of Descartes were widely accepted there. Next, Switzerland, by itself, sought to establish a haven for the unadulterated faith. In 1675 the representatives of Zürich, Schaffhausen, Basel, Bern, and Geneva met and formulated a "Konsensus" which practically repeated the declaration of the Dordrecht synod of 1618. But here too the seeds of heresy had already been sown and the next fifty years brought Switzerland well into line with the tendencies in England.

English influence in German-speaking lands began within the religious field. It was fostered by a parallel social development. John Wycliffe's new teachings came to Johannes Hus by way of Jeronimus of Prague. It

[19] H. Schöffler, *Protestantismus und Literatur . . .*, Leipzig, 1922, 24; but cf. C. F. Richardson, *English Preachers and Preaching, 1640–1670, a Secular Study*. Columbia Univ. diss., New York, 1928, especially chap. iv, pp. 138–200: "The secular interests of the clergy. 1) Learned avocations. 2) The clergy and the fine arts."

was not until later that Holland became a center of actual contact of large numbers.

Holland was noted for its many universities of high repute. Among the Germans who studied at Leyden may be mentioned Opitz, Gryphius, Fleming, and Hofmannswaldau, and, early in the next century, Brockes and Haller. Swiss students were sent to Holland to study the pure doctrine of Calvin but as the century wore on they brought home, more and more, the views of Descartes and the habit of pipe smoking, the beginning of an unclerical mode of living.

Between 1650 and 1700 no less than 250 students from Zürich alone studied at Leyden,[20] to take no account of Utrecht, Groningen, Franeker, and Harderwijk. But British students too came in large numbers. It can be shown that there were 965 of these at Leyden between 1650 and 1700,[21] or, in an average year, twenty from Britain against five from Zürich.

Holland had long since become the land of the freethinkers and the home of the brave refugees. The broadest toleration in Europe prevailed here. Orthodox Calvinism was the religion of the majority of the inhabitants, but there were also Calvinists of the Arminian heresy, Lutherans, Quakers, Mennonites, Anabaptists, Moravians (Herrnhuter), Presbyterians, and Anglicans. The Jews had their synagogue and Catholics were allowed to worship, though not in places designated as churches.

Amsterdam was a center of a somewhat different type from Leyden and its orientation was stronger toward France. It was a goal of its travelers and a sanctuary of its refugees. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries nearly a hundred Frenchmen of note visited Holland and wrote up their impressions. Among them may be mentioned Scaliger, Descartes, Pierre Bayle, Le Clerc, Colbert, the Abbé Prévost, Montesquieu, Voltaire, the Abbé Raynal, and Diderot.[22] Bayle and Le Clerc passed the remainder of their lives in Holland. Amsterdam was the center of the publishing trade in Holland and here appeared journals which marked the most advanced thought of the day, among them the *Nouvelles de la république des lettres* of Bayle, 1684–1689, and the *Bibliothèque universelle et historique* of Le Clerc, 1686–1693.[23]

English divines played a prominent part in the course of events in Holland. Persecution at home drove thither William Ames in time to play an important role in the Dordrecht synod. He taught twelve years

[20] Schöffler [156] 15.

[21] Edward Peacock, "Index to English speaking students who have graduated at Leyden University." *Index Society Publications* XII, London, 1883.

[22] Roelof Murris, *La Hollande et les Hollandais au XVIIe et au XVIIIe siècle vus par les Français . . .*, Paris, Champion, 1925.

[23] Hendriks J. Reesnik, *L'Angleterre et la littérature anglaise dans les trois plus anciens périodiques français de Hollande de 1684–1709*, Zutphen, 1931, 443. Reesnik's third journal is the *Histoire des ouvrages des savans*, ed. Basnage de Beauval, Rotterdam, 1687–1709.

at the University of Franeker. His most important work, *De Conscientia, ejus Jure et Casibus* (Amsterdam, 1632), was translated by Harsdoerffer (Nuremberg, 1654). His most notable pupil was Gisbert Voetius, professor of theology at Utrecht, who translated the *Praxis Pietatis* of Lewis Bayley.

Gilbert Burnet, later Bishop of Salisbury, learned Hebrew during his first stay in Holland. Later he had to flee there to escape persecution under the rule of James II. He was warmly received by William of Orange, became well acquainted with the Swiss refugee Le Clerc, acquired Dutch citizenship to gain additional security, married a woman of Scottish and Dutch ancestry, and returned to England with William of Orange, whose coronation and funeral sermons he preached. Numerous works of Burnet were translated into German, most of them passing over by way of Holland. Among other notable refugees, as well as temporary home seekers, or visitors in Holland were Sir William Temple, Shaftesbury, and William Brewster and William Bradford, who left with their flock for New England.

Sir Thomas Browne, after making the grand tour through Europe, paused at Leyden to take his degree in medicine. The unauthorized edition of his *Religio Medici* appeared in London shortly afterward, 1642; the corrected edition, 1643; the first Latin edition in Amsterdam, 1644; the first Dutch edition, 1665. In 1668 it was translated from the Dutch into French. The first German translation known bears the date 1680; from what language it was translated does not appear.

Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* and others of his works were first translated into Dutch (*Pilgrim's Progress*, 1679) and from Dutch into German. The earliest German translators were Johann Lange and Christoph Mathias Seidel. The latter was closely connected with the inner circle of Pietism; with Spener; and with Canstein, the founder of the "Canstеinische Bibelgesellschaft," the products of which were printed at Halle "am Waysenhaus." The first French edition of the *Pilgrim's Progress* was also published in Amsterdam, 1685, the second in Amsterdam, 1703, the third in Basel, 1717, the fourth in Rotterdam, 1722, the fifth in Halle, "am Waysenhaus," 1752, and not until much later did an edition appear on French soil, Toulouse, 1788. Meanwhile there were many German editions of the *Pilgrim's Progress*. The two published at Ephrata and at Germantown, Pennsylvania, 1754 and 1755, testify to the continued interest of the Herrnhuter in the work.[24]

Seven of William Penn's works, *A Brief Account of the Quakers, Good Advice to the Church of England, Roman Catholick and Protestant Dis-*

[24] Sann [330]. Cf. Reesnik, 149 f.

senters, A Key Opening the Way, Letter of Love to the Young, No Cross no Crown, Some Fruits of Solitude, and *Truth Exalted,* were translated in Holland earlier than elsewhere on the continent. Four other of Penn's characteristic treatises were written first in Holland in the Dutch language and later translated into English, French, and German.

In the second half of the seventeenth century the complaint was publicly voiced in Germany that the bookshops were filled with translations of English works in which a secret poison was concealed.[25] This poison was, of course, Puritanism and Protestant heterodoxy in other forms. In view of the close connection between pietism and the later developments of German literature—baroque subjectivism, sentimentalism, "Sturm und Drang," and romanticism—these tracts, though not strictly literary, should not be overlooked. The book of religious edification, the "Erbauungsbuch," was the typical literary product of the time and the work that unfailingly reached the masses. The tracts of such men as Richard Baxter, William Perkins, Joseph Hall, and John Barclay were abundantly represented in German translation and their influence on the German masses was widespread, slow working, and not easily traceable, but it will scarcely be questioned that they added new impulse to the mystic tendencies. Certain it is that some of the best-known German authors of the century showed interest in these English moral works.

Moscherosch was the author of *Insomnis Cura Parentum,* 1643, which was inspired by an English tract written by Elizabeth Joceline. In it he recommends to his children the reading of Dyke's *Nosce te Ipsum,* Bayley's *Praxis Pietatis,* and a work attributed to Emanuel Sonthomb, no doubt *Das gulden Kleinod der Kinder Gottes.*[26] This work, which appeared in Germany as early as 1620, passed into a second edition in 1652, introduced by a friend of Harsdörffer, Dilherr, under whose influence Nuremberg became "eines der wichtigsten Zentren für die Verbreitung englischer religiöser Schriften."[27]

English tracts of a similar type were also probably well known to Zesen, who shared with the English theologians their tolerance and their tendency toward mysticism. One of his best-known works in its time was his *Andächtige Lehrgesänge von Kristus Nachfolgung und Verachtung aller Eitelkeiten der Welt,* 1675, which was a poetic version of the *Imitatio Christi* of Thomas à Kempis.

Harsdörffer preferred the more rational literature of courtly manners and good conduct. His favorite English author was Joseph Hall, whose

[25] Viëtor [41].
[26] *Op. cit.,* ed. Pariser, in NDL, CVIII (1893) 13, 32, 63.
[27] Introduction to Dilherr's translation of *Das gülden Kleinod.* . . . Sonthom's authorship is, however, doubtful; see Viëtor [41] 86.

Characters of Virtues and Vices he translated. He also translated, 1654, the *De Conscientia, ejus Jure et Casibus* of William Ames, the pastor of the English Puritans in Holland. Ames's influence extended beyond his flock, and his works found tolerant acceptance in Dutch circles.

The execution of Charles I caused much stir in France and Germany. Shortly after his death there appeared a work called Εἰκὼν βασιλική, a defense of Charles I attributed to the monarch himself. To this John Milton answered with a defense of the "regicides." By command of the English government this work was translated into French in 1652. Milton's work made him notorious in France as a statesman and political writer at a time when he was scarcely known at all as a poet. The early comments on Milton in France were unfavorable. Bayle treated Milton at length (three pages) and more favorably in his dictionary in 1697, but again chiefly as a political writer, observing only incidentally that his *Paradise Lost*, "passe pour l'un des plus beaux ouvrages de poésie que l'on ait vu en Anglais." The "Lexika" of Buddeus, 1704, and of Mencke, 1713, discuss Milton in a similar fashion.[28]

A combination of facts makes it seem probable that the young Gryphius during his six years in Holland moved in a circle that was in close touch with the English Puritans and thus acquired the religious toleration of his succeeding period.[29] His *Carolus Stuardus*, 1657, based for the most part directly or indirectly on the Εἰκὼν βασιλική[30] proves nothing to the contrary. Gryphius was a monarchist, and his sympathy with the Puritans did not lead him to condone "regicide." However, the two English "Erbauungsbücher" which Gryphius translated were both written by Richard Baker, an Episcopalian clergyman. It was Hofmannswaldau who put the first of these volumes into his hands, so Gryphius tells us, and who encouraged him to undertake the work and to persevere to the end.[31] Thus five chief representatives of the German "barock," Moscherosch, Zesen, Hofmannswaldau, Harsdörffer, and Gryphius, found a common interest in the new religious tendencies of England.

[28] Robertson [420] 319 f.
[29] Viëtor [41] 27 f.
[30] Schönle [44].
[31] Viëtor [41] 32.

Chapter II

THE ENGLISH COMEDIANS

The wanderings of the English comedians in Germany during the last decade of Shakespeare's life and the following half century or more form a romantic episode of literary history. The reconstruction in broad outline of their itineraries and repertories and adventures constitutes one of the definite triumphs of research since 1817.

In the year 1592 an Englishman by the name of Fynes Moryson passed through Frankfurt and found some of his countrymen presenting some English plays for the entertainment of the German audience. Not at all edified by the exhibition, Moryson expressed himself in no uncertain terms on his return. His account was published in London in 1617,[1] only to be forgotten for two centuries. In his *Deutsches Theater*, 1817, Ludwig Tieck commented upon the comedians, but in such a way as to excite curiosity rather than satisfy it. Ideas regarding the comedians grew more fanciful until scholars began to look upon the whole matter as a myth; but in reality Tieck had a store of evidence regarding the subject, which eventually came to light. About the year 1850 Tieck was called upon to pay a large debt which his brother had contracted and was compelled to sell the valuable library he had been zealously collecting. His books had first to be put in order and catalogued,[2] and for this special service Albert Cohn was called in. Confidential relations were established. Tieck placed his data at the disposal of Cohn, and thus the first extensive account, 1865, of the players was rendered possible.[3] Chiefly during the next twenty years, knowledge of the wanderings of the English comedians increased considerably, but is still somewhat incomplete.[4] If English comedians played in Leipzig in 1585, that was the first appearance of such companies on German land, and if it was an Andrew Rudge who led some players in "Ein Spiel vom reichen Manne" in 1591, then an elsewhere unmentioned troupe of comedians is thereby indicated.[5]

In its broad outlines the history of the English comedians in Germany presents itself as follows: The players came by way of Denmark. In 1579 English musicians are reported there; in 1585 English players followed them. In the next year a troupe of players, led by William Kempe, appeared at the court of Denmark as attendants of their patron, Lord

[1] Moryson [73].
[2] ShJ, XLII (1906) 221. Cf. Zeydel [1313] 129 f.
[3] Cohn [71] also reproduced two plays of Ayrer and four from the repertory of the English comedians. For further plays of the comedians see nos. [67]–[69].
[4] Trautmann [79]–[80].
[5] Witkowski [87].

Leicester. Christian I, the electoral prince of Saxony, heard of the performances in Denmark and through his connection with the Danish king arranged for a visit of players to his own court. The players followed Christian on his journeys and entertained him with "Singspielen, Schauspielen, Musik und Tanz," and remained about nine months in his service, leaving Dresden, July 15, 1587, and visiting Danzig on their homeward journey.[6]

A lasting foothold in Germany was first secured by the troupe of Browne in 1592. This troupe divided after a short time. One part entered the service of Landgraf Moritz von Hessen, the other of Herzog Heinrich Julius von Braunschweig. The Hessian troupe was directed by Browne until 1598, followed by Webster until 1603. An attempt has recently been made to identify this Jorge Webster with John Webster, the author of *The White Devil*.[7] The Braunschweig troupe was directed at first by Sackville until 1596, then by Browne until 1607, and following that by Greene. The Blackreude-Theer troupe, 1603–1606, was a temporary offshoot of this company. Following the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War, Greene appeared by preference in Catholic lands and Browne's troupe played at the Protestant court of Frederick V at Prague.[8] After 1628 Greene's name appears no more in the records and Reinhold seems to have been his immediate successor. The Reinhold troupe, in spite of losses and reorganizations, held itself together for nearly half a century longer. Certain of its members are mentioned as playing in 1671, and it is supposed that they took part in performances in Dresden at an even later date.

Contemporaneous with the Browne-Greene troupe were other companies which purported to come directly from England. The most notable of these were the Spencer troupe, 1604–1623, and the Jolliphus troupe, 1648–1660. It is by no means certain, however, that these troupes were entirely unrelated to the Browne-Greene stock, for out of five dramas played by Spencer in Nuremberg in 1613 three correspond to plays known to have been in Browne's repertory.[9] Furthermore it appears that the Jolliphus ensemble, far from being a new troupe, consisted, in part at least, of the remnants of the old Browne-Greene-Reinhold troupe, which Jolliphus from now on directed.[10]

It is unlikely, on the whole, that the existence of any hitherto unknown companies will be demonstrated. The sporadic performances here and there[11] were in all probability staged by stragglers of the already well-known companies, nor could new companies coming from England

[6] Bolte [81] xvi.
[7] Hartleb [135] 27.
[8] Kramer [102] 93 f.
[9] Kaulfuß-Diesch [91] 142.
[10] Herz [85] 56.
[11] Regarding such see Herz [85] 63 f.

have easily won large rewards. Even the old-established troupes played with varying success. They discovered that it was first necessary to learn the German language, then the art of pleasing the spectators without conflicting with the city authorities. In times of little income there was a tendency to split up into smaller groups, which were perhaps recruited by additions from amateur German talent. The term "eine neue, aus England herübergekommene Truppe" was probably used by native troupes for its advertising value. The English comedians are last mentioned in contemporaneous records in 1694.

The leaders of the various companies differed widely in their personal characteristics. There was the reliable, honest, and less enterprising Browne who accepted the lowly place assigned to actors but who never degraded his art to gain distinction, and could assert with pride "daß er nie wegen Überforderung der Spectatores, oder sonstiger Unbill bestraft worden sei,"[12] and there was Greene, a man of coarser fiber, who judged success by financial gain. He enjoyed the special protection of the emperor and could meet the "Ratsherren" with effrontery. Sackville was an original artist, who developed a new type of fool or clown and played it with success. He later utilized his experience as buyer for his company and his popularity with people and court by becoming a merchant and "Hoflieferant" in Braunschweig.[13] Spencer was the P. T. Barnum of his day. He believed the public liked to be duped and his *Türkische Triumphkomödie* was the greatest show in Germany. He was unscrupulous in his dealings with the authorities. Finding his performance forbidden in Cologne he let himself be converted to Catholicism and was permitted to play during Lent at an increased price. In Dresden and Berlin, where his change of heart was not known, he was received with undiminished favor on his return. Jolliphus represents the comedians in their decadence. He is last heard of in Nuremberg in 1659. He played there in May and June, was ordered out of the city at the end of September and again in October, and was permitted to return in November only to be driven out again on account of a disgraceful row which he occasioned.

Conclusions of somewhat various natures regarding the texts of plays by the "Englische Komödianten" have been based chiefly upon two collections, the first called *Engelische Comedien und Tragedien*, 1620, containing ten plays and two farces, and the second, *Liebeskampff oder ander Theil der Englischen Comoedien und Tragoedien*, 1630, containing six plays and two "Singspiele." The first student of the texts, Ludwig Tieck, thought that they were noted down from the stage production of

[12] Herz [85] 22.
[13] Zimmermann [83].

crudely extemporizing actors.[14] His successor, Albert Cohn, wisely doubted whether the actors had anything to do with the preparation of the printed text. He regarded the work as a collection of pieces the general action of which was observed by one or perhaps a few spectators and then "remodelled under German hands."[15] Tittmann agreed with Cohn in general but believed there was but one editor of the collection, who may have had some fragmentary written data from the actors.[16] Creizenach regarded the work as a collection of printed plays, published without the consent of the actors. He did not believe the editing was by a single hand but that the collection was based on the actual manuscripts of the company.[17] He therefore had full faith in it as documentary evidence. Gundolf believed rather that the manuscripts of the company indicated only approximately the action of the plays, which the actors themselves had to develop by extemporization.[18] Flemming believed in a basic text, but thought that it was worked over by a single editor.[19] As late as 1935 Baeseke maintained that our printed collection represented the old stage manuscripts prepared for the press without any essential changes.[20]

Surmise gave place to information when Nordström, in 1922, discovered that one Frederick Menius claimed to be the author of the *Engelische Comedien und Tragedien*,[21] but the degree of his originality, or stated otherwise, the actual text or form of presentation of plays remained still in doubt. The evidence has been thoroughly sifted of late by Fredén.[22] Some of his conclusions are the following:

Menius was a scholar in the sense that he read and wrote Latin. The introduction to the collection is based in part upon a work of reference by Thomas Garzoni called *Piazza universale di tutte le professioni*, Venice, 1585, translated into German in 1619. Menius was in Wolgast as a practicing lawyer from 1617 to 1621. Herzog Philipp Julius von Pommern-Wolgast had a troupe of English comedians at his court during those years, or more precisely he had a company of German comedians under English leadership. The studies of Fredén have led him to the conclusion that Menius, during the earlier part of his stay in Wolgast, 1617–1620, attended the performances of the English comedians at the court of Herzog Philipp Julius, noted, as best he could, the action and words, and on the basis of his notes reconstructed the plays. In support of this Fredén offers cogent arguments. There are, to be sure, many anglicisms in the text, though proportionally not so many as Tittmann would lead

[14] Tieck [70] xxx.
[15] Cohn [71] civ.
[16] Tittmann [72] I viii f.
[17] Creizenach [67] lxxv f.
[18] Gundolf [652] 48.
[19] Flemming [69] 34.
[20] Baeseke [95].
[21] Nordström [130].
[22] Fredén [132] 189 ff.

us to believe. Their presence is sufficiently accounted for by Fredén's hypothesis. More striking is the abundance of Latin words and of Latin names, nearly all with their correct endings. These must be attributed to the author or adaptor or editor, whichever we may call Menius. Had he had before him the stage manuscripts of the comedians he would have found, no doubt, entrances and exits indicated from the point of view that controlled the English stage then and now, but Menius uses the prevalent terms of the German stage of his time. As the equivalent of "enter" he employs most frequently the term "herauskommen" (that is, from concealment behind the stage) and for "exit" most frequently "hineingehen." The most convincing evidence, however, is the fact that the language of the text is regularly tinged with Low German. We cannot well imagine that a collection of texts by various hands would have had this consistent dominant.

Further evidence is drawn from the "Rollenverteilung." In *Der verlorene Sohn* an identical character speaks under the designation of "Frau," "Weib," and "Wirtin," according to her momentary function. Similarly in the play of *Fortunatus* the speeches of the English princess are usually and properly assigned to Agrippina, but when the situation arises she speaks as "Tochter" or "Prinzessin." Surely no stage manuscript would have been so inconsistent. Nor could the following have appeared in a stage manuscript: In *Titus Andronicus* the arrival in splendid procession is announced of Vespasianus, Titus, and "Römischer Keyser." Thereafter follows the naive correction in the stage direction: "damalen war er noch nicht Römischer Keyser." Fredén also reproduces a number of directions which show that Menius remembered the action of the play only hazily at certain points, and even incorrectly. At times he calls for actions or feelings that cannot be pictured on the stage, and sometimes his directions give away to the audience secrets it is not yet supposed to know. In short the text as printed reveals the amateur and the tyro rather than the professional actor; in some respects the plays of the English comedians may have been less faulty than his reportage might lead us to believe.

But this is only the negative of the picture. It was also within the power of the editor to draw upon his education and experience for additional scenes, traits, and characterizations. Thus the way was open for the introduction of scenes based upon German folk literature and the *commedia dell'arte*, for reminiscences of Plautus and Terence, and for the phraseology of the baroque novel where the situation called for elegance of expression, and all this occurred frequently. In fact the greater part of Fredén's study treats of sources and interrelations in such detail that

a brief summary is impossible. The conclusion is that Menius was more successful in his adaptations of Biblical dramas and of such themes as *Fortunatus* and *Niemand und Jemand* than of certain of the others whose subject matter was unfamiliar to him.

The second collection of plays *Liebeskampff oder ander Theil der Engelischen Comoedien und Tragoedien*, 1630, has also been thoroughly analyzed. Richter regards the volume as the product of a German author, who was familiar with the work of the "Englische Komoedianten" but who was not trying to write directly for the theater.[23] Despite its secondary title, the *Liebeskampff* was published quite independently of its predecessor, though it was no doubt suggested by it and though it probably followed its example in some respects, notably in its stage directions. The title and the style are Italian rather than English and the author was of Thuringian origin.

On the basis of these two collections plus some fifteen repertoires submitted to civic authorities by petitioning companies and further miscellaneous evidence the following English plays may be listed as having become known in Germany in greater or less part through the activities of the English comedians.[24] Even when the English and the German play can be shown to have a common origin in some well-known European romance, often some minor incident, character, or phrase indicated a contribution from the English version.

John Bale: *Lazarus.*

Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher: *The Maid's Tragedy; The Prophetess.*

George Chapman: *The Conspiracy and Tragedy of Charles, Duke of Byron.*

Henry Chettle: *Patient Grissil.*

Robert Davenport: *A New Trick to Cheat the Devil.*

Thomas Dekker: *If this be not good, the Devil is in it; Old Fortunatus.*

John Ford: *The Broken Heart.*

Henry Glapthorne: *Albertus Wallenstein.*

Robert Greene: *Alphonsus, King of Arragon; A Looking Glass for London and England; Orlando Furioso.*

Thomas Heywood: *King Edward IV; The Rape of Lucrece; The Silver Age.*

William Houghton and John Day: *Friar Rush and the Proud Woman of Antwerp.*

Thomas Kyd: *The Spanish Tragedy.*

[23] Richter [98].

[24] See Herz [85] 64–70, Creizenach [67] xxviii–xxxi, Dessoff [97], Flemming [69], Fredén [132], and Wölcken [15] 5 f.

Lewis Machin: *The Dumb Knight.*
Christopher Marlowe: *Doctor Faustus; The Massacre of Paris; The Rich Jew of Malta; Tamerlane.*
John Marston: *Parasitaster* or *The Fawn.*
John Mason: *The Turke.*
Philip Massinger: *Believe as you List; The Great Duke of Florence; The Virgin Martyr.*
George Peele: *Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes; The Turkish Mahomet and Hyrin the Fair Greek.*
William Rowley: *A Shoemaker a Gentleman.*
Julian Robert à Segar: *Larva.*
William Shakespeare: *The Comedy of Errors; Hamlet, Prince of Denmark; Julius Caesar; King Henry IV; King Lear; Merchant of Venice; A Midsummer Night's Dream; Othello; Romeo and Juliet; Taming of the Shrew; Titus Andronicus; A Winter's Tale; Two Gentlemen of Verona.*
Pseudo-Shakespearean Plays: *Edward III; The London Prodigal; Mucedorus; The Two Noble Kinsmen; A Yorkshire Tragedy.*
Lewis Sharpe: *The Noble Stranger.*
Robert Shaw: *The Four Sons of Ahasverus.*
James Shirley: *The Maid's Revenge; The Opportunity; The Traitor.*
John Still, Bishop of Bath: *Gammer Gurton's Needle.*
William Warner: *Menaechmi.*
Robert Wilmot: *Tancred and Gismunde.*
Anonymous plays: *Christabella and Sir Eglamon; The Destruction of Troy; Everyman; The Four Sons of Aymon; Nobody and Somebody with the True Chronicle History of Eliadure . . .; The Prodigal Child; Sir Thomas More; The Tragical Life and Death of Tiberius Claudius Nero; The Weakest Goeth to the Wall.*

The following furthermore seem to be based on English plays which have been lost:

Comoedia von der schönen Sidea, wie es ihr biß zu ihrer Verheuratung ergangen; Schöne lustige triumphirende Comoedia von eines Königes Sohne aus Engellandt und des Königes Tochter aus Schottland; Tugend und Liebesstreit.

Two other dramas of the time, however, preserved in manuscript, are deserving of passing mention. One is *Speculum Aistheticum*, a translation of Anthony Brewer's (?) English morality play, *Lingua* or *The Combat of the Tongue and the Five Senses for Superiority*, translated by Johannes Rhenanus, the court physician of Landgraf Moritz von Hessen; the other play is a Latin comedy called *Larva*, sent apparently to the Hessian court

by some young English student at Cambridge in appreciation of hospitality received. It was probably played in the court theater. Bolte surmises as the author Johann (Robert) à Segar.[25]

It will be noted that Shakespearean drama, though quite anonymously, appeared in Germany in the seventeenth century: *Romeo and Juliet* in Nördlingen in 1604, *Merchant of Venice* in Passau in 1607, and *Twelfth Night* in Graz, 1608. The Collection *Engelische Comedien und Tragedien* of 1620 also included "Eine sehr klägliche Tragoedie von Tito Andronico und der hoffertigen Kayserinn."

On his second visit to Germany Greene offered to the Dresden court, 1626, versions of *Romeo and Juliet, Merchant of Venice, Julius Caesar, King Lear,* and *Hamlet.* The earlier tragedy *Der bestrafte Brudermord* is not in the direct lineage with *Hamlet,* but has a common ancestor. Other dramas played before 1692 were *Henry IV* and the "Tragicomödia" of *Othello. Pyramus and Thisbe* from the *Midsummer Night's Dream* was played in various forms before the time of Gryphius's *Peter Squenz. The Comedy of Errors* may have been masked under the title *Von den gleichen Brüdern,* Dresden, 1660, while the always popular *Taming of the Shrew* lived on to a sedater stage. The rector Christian Heimann prepared a version for the students at the Gymnasium at Zittau under the title *Die wunderbare Heurath Petruio mit der bösen Caterinen,* 1658. The more famous later rector of the school, Christian Weise, wrote a new text for *Die böse Katharina,* 1705, but meanwhile the earliest of the professional German directors, Magister Velten, had included it in his repertory, Heidelberg, 1679, and *Die Kunst über alle Künste, ein bös Weib gut zu machen* had been played and even printed, 1672.

The English comedians influenced histrionics rather than dramatic literature. They were the first professional players in Germany and their performances easily surpassed the "Schulkomödien," the "Fastnachtsspiele," and other productions of the "Zünfte." It is true that the "Zünfte" were semiprofessional. Their members joined their talents and produced plays for money in their own and even neighboring cities, but they never abated their dignity as citizens and master workmen. It was their aim, as Hans Sachs's Prologus frequently says:

> Ein Tragedi zu recedirn
> In teutscher Sprach zu eloquirn.

Amateur players from the peasant and less distinguished classes, to be sure, may have been less restrained. The English comedians knew no reserve whatsoever. It was their aim to excite fear, horror, or belly

[25] Hartleb [135] 82 and Bolte [134] 23, 28.

laughter. They submerged their own individualities in the parts which they played and studied gesture and facial expression in order to emphasize effects. The frequent stage direction to "tear the hair" seems to have been meant and understood literally. In short, the comedians gave their all for their art. "Getting it over" was their sole aim and thereby they exerted a deep and lasting influence upon histrionics in Germany. Their direct successors were the wandering players of the last half of the seventeenth century, among whom Velten was recognized as a leader. A direct descendant professionally of Velten was Frau Neuber, who was later to join for a time with Gottsched in the purification of the stage, especially from the very abuses the English comedians had introduced.

Systematic attempts have been made, particularly by Kaulfuß-Diesch and Baeseke,[26] to reconstruct the stage of the English comedians and describe the manner of presentation of the plays. The text of 1620 has served as the basis for their deductions, but Fredén has so impugned the documentary reliability of this collection that it is wisest to admit ignorance. The manuscript version of *Niemand und Jemand* is the only one which can be traced to the players themselves. It was apparently written down in Graz in 1608, two years after its printed publication in London, and bears the name of "Johannes Grün, Nob. Anglus," who makes the false claim that he is the author of the play. The text is "a fair copy of a dictated prototype." The scribe was apparently a well-educated man, who spoke and wrote in the prevalent dialect of Graz.[27]

Since internal evidence of the staging of the plays is inconclusive we may pay some heed to contemporary illustrations. Elizabeth Mentzel describes a woodcut of a stage in Cassel, Nuremberg or Frankfurt used by English players in 1597:

> Die verhältnismäßig tiefe, weniger breite Bühne ist durch einen zurückziehbaren Vorhang in einen größeren vorderen und kleineren hinteren Theil geschieden. . . . Der vordere Theil des Schauplatzes liegt etwas niedriger als der hintere, zu dem auf dem Holzschnitt zwei Stufen führen. Die Bühne hat weder einen Vorhang noch Coulissen, aber von der Decke hängen fahnenartig einige Stücke Zeug herab.[28]

This stage then was not greatly unlike that of the Blackfriars Theatre in London. The bunting suspended from the roof perhaps had significance, bright blue signifying daytime, and dark blue or black to suggest night, but it does not follow that this was the usual stage. On the contrary the players had to adapt themselves to any facilities offered. After 1648 or thereabouts they found a few stages constructed for French or

[26] See bibliography [91] and [95].
[27] Kramer [103] 85; reprinted in Bischoff [100] and Flemming [69]; cf. Kramer [103] 88 f.
[28] E. Mentzel, *Geschichte der Schauspielkunst in Frankfurt am Main*, 1882, 28.

Italian opera. Before that time the most advantageous setting offered was a "Ballhaus" or "Fechthaus." The stage was set up near the center of one side of a quadrangle. This allowed one or at most two exits at the rear. The use of side curtains on the projecting stage is improbable as this would have cut off the view of many spectators. The players were accustomed to similar conditions in England, for they played in the provinces rather than in London. Several stage directions seem to indicate that a balcony was sometimes used. There is no convincing evidence that a curtain separating "Vorderbühne" and "Hinterbühne" was in use before 1648. After that time advantage was taken of it when available on stages which had introduced it for operatic production.[29]

The costuming was often elaborate. In the *Magdeburger Geldklage*, 1617, of Johannes Olorinus Variscus [Johannes Sommer, pastor at Oberweddingen near Magdeburg] a passage reads: "Da müssen die Kragen mit Perlen besetzt werden, und wird ein solcher Pracht gesehn, daß sie einher gehen, wie die Englischen Comödienspieler im Theatro."[30] The troupe of Greene had, at least on one occasion, a special "Kleiderbewahrer," and Spencer, whose *Türkische Triumphkomödie* surpassed all others as a show play, once presented to the court a bill for 1000 thaler for expenditures.

The first company of comedians, that of Browne, presented its plays at the outset by necessity in English, in Frankfurt in 1592,[31] in Nuremberg in 1593, and in Cassel and Augsburg as late as 1596. But the Blackreude troupe presented plays at Nuremberg in "schönen deutschen Reimen" in 1604,[32] the Greene troupe played *Niemand und Jemand* in German in Graz as early as 1608,[33] and by the year 1617 when Menius recorded its productions it had a large German repertory. During the early or English-speaking period of the companies the English verse form was probably retained, but doubtless monologues and dialogues unaccompanied by action were omitted or reduced. The change from English to German separated the plays still further from the original and opened the portals for the sure-fire comedy of the clown.

The role of the fool was of course traditional in the German religious and profane drama as well as the Elizabethan. The English comedians, however, introduced new grotesque and original types. Three such types may be distinguished—the active, the passive, and the acrobatic. Jan Bouset and Pickelhäring were of the passive type, "der einfältige Tölpel;" Wursthänsel was "der Schlaukopf" of the active type. The acrobatic clown was called "der Springer." Valentin Miller's *Chronik* (Schmal-

[29] Pascal [96].
[30] Cohn [71] cxxxvi.
[31] Moryson [73].
[32] Kaulfuß-Diesch [91] 85.
[33] Bischoff [100].

kalden, 1595) recorded of one of them: "Er sei in Paul Merkerts Hof gesprungen und die Wand rauf gelaufen."[34] These various types were not always kept apart and were later frequently combined with the Harlequin of Italian origin, but the English comedians lacked a chief prop of the older German drama, the good-natured philosophic fool, who under the mask of folly utters deep wisdom, as for example the "Jeckle" of Hans Sachs in his *Esther*. Shakespeare offered such characters but the rude wandering troupes could not use them. As Creizenach says: "Tiefsinniger und gemütvoller Humor war nicht ihre Sache."[35]

In the manuscripts the action of the fool is sometimes merely indicated, as in *Fortunatus*, "hier agieret Pickelhäring;" sometimes the entire action was comic, as in the "Singspiele"; and again the action was originally a minor one which later developed into major importance. In the English original of *Niemand und Jemand* the comic element makes up about one-third of the play, in the German version of 1608 it is about one-half, and in Menius's version of 1620 about two-thirds.[36] Since the comic figure was regarded as the chief character, it was usually played by the leader of the company. Sackville played Jan Bouset, Spencer "Stockfisch," and Reinhold "Pickelhäring."

In Menius's transcription of the plays "durchklingende Verse" are recognizable. These passages have given rise to various speculations. Kaulfuß-Diesch said that the first translation was from English verse to German verse and that the 1620 collection represented a later disintegration. Minor believed the first translation was from English verse to German prose, and that the "durchklingende Verse" of 1620 were in conscious imitation of the Shakespearean mixture of prose and verse.[37] Certain it is that verse was regarded as a merit. The Blackreude troupe advertised its "schöne deutsche Reime."[38] Johannes Rhenanus insisted on the merits of the English iambic verse,[39] and two of Herzog Heinrich Julius's plays were later turned into verse by a reviser.[40] The "durchklingende Verse" are no longer a problem since the appearance of Fredén's work on Menius. *Titus Andronicus* II, 2 has the following passage:

> The hunt is up, the morn is bright and grey,
> The fields are fragrant and the woods are green:
> Uncouple here and let us make a bay
> And wake the Emperor and his lovely bride.

[34] Herz [85] 13.
[35] Creizenach [67] cviii. Cf. Kaulfuß-Diesch [91] 114.
[36] Kaulfuß-Diesch [91] 110.
[37] Minor in review of Kaulfuß-Diesch [91] *Euphorion*, XIV (1907) 801.
[38] Kaulfuß-Diesch [91] 85.
[39] Bolte [134] 23.
[40] Minor in *Euphorion*, XIV (1907) 80 ff.

I have dogs, my lord,
Will rouse the proudest panther in the chase
And climb the highest promontory top.
And I have horse will follow where the game
Makes way, and run like swallows o'er the plain.

The collection of 1620 reads:

(Nun ist die Morgenstunde heran gekommen, und man jaget, die Jägerhörne und Trumpeten werden geblasen. Titus Andronicus kömpt herauss.)

Titus Andron.: O wie lieblich vnd freundlich singen jetzt die Vögel in den Lüfften, ein jeglich suchet jetzt seine Nahrung, vnd die Jaget ist auch schon angefangen, in Frewde vnd Herrligkeit.

Both Gundolf and Fredén cite this passage; Gundolf to demonstrate the tragic fate of poetry at the hands of the comedians, Fredén to show the inadequate reporting of Menius.[41]

When the literary influence of the English comedians is discussed, four names come under consideration: Herzog Heinrich Julius von Braunschweig, Landgraf Moritz von Hessen, Jacob Ayrer of Nuremberg, and Andreas Gryphius, the Silesian. The connections are not as close as Cohn and others have represented them. In 1590 Heinrich Julius journeyed to Copenhagen to fetch home his second wife Elizabeth, the daughter of Friedrich II of Denmark. During the festivities there he saw for the first time productions of the English comedians. This may have aroused in him the ambition to have a theater of his own. On his return to Wolfenbüttel he began to write plays, and in 1594 he invited Thomas Sackville and his troupe to attend his court. It is not true that the plays of Heinrich Julius were written for the English troupe. Eight or more of the twelve were written, or partly written, before the arrival of the English comedians.[42] The earliest, his *Susanna*, originally demanded thirty-five actors, the second version only twenty-two, but this reduction also took place before the Sackville troupe came to Wolfenbüttel. The duke's *Tragoedie von einer Ehebrecherin* is unconnected with *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, and *Vincentius Ladislaus* is not connected with *Much Ado about Nothing*. These plays of the duke were written before their surmised Shakespearean relatives.[43] With the probable exception of Sackville, who had learned enough Low German to play the important role of the fool, it is unlikely that any of the English comedians took part in the production of the duke's plays; rather they presented their own entertainments of music, dancing, and acting.[44] After 1594 the duke's dramatic

[41] Gundolf [652] 27; Fredén [132] 81.
[42] Reprinted in [122] and [124].
[43] Against Cohn [71] and Grimm [123] see Knight [128] 101–103, 107, 111.
[44] Pfützenreuter [129] 55 and 57.

production ceased as suddenly as it had begun and by 1601 he had tired of his comedians and dismissed them.

One ducal play alone bears signs of the influence of the comedians, and for that reason throws light on the fading traditions of the comedians of England as well as of Germany. A much quoted passage in "A Warning to Fair Women," 1599, describes the prevailing type of tragedy.

> How some damn'd tyrant to obtain a crown
> Stabs, hangs, impoisons, smothers, cutteth throats
> * * * * * * * * *
> Then, too, a filthy whining ghost,
> Lapt in some foul sheet of leather pilch,
> Comes screaming like a pig half stick'd
> And cries, Vindicta!—Revenge, Revenge!

Hamlet, Richard III, Locrine, Caesar's Revenge, all fit this description in part, but there is no extant English play which so fully includes all the specifications as does Herzog Heinrich Julius's *Tragoedia von einem ungerathenen Sohne,* a play which bears strong evidence of being based upon an "Ur-Hamlet."[45] His *Tragoedia von einer Ehebrecherin* throws further light upon the acting tradition in England and on the continent, as do also Gramsbergen's *Kluchtighe Tragoedia* and Gryphius's *Peter Squenz.*[46]

It is known that the Landgraf Moritz von Hessen also wrote plays for his company, which was led at various times by Brown, Webster, Machin, and Reeve, but not even the titles of his pieces can be ascertained. Of interest is the fact that the presence of his players led him to build, 1603–1606, the first theater in Germany especially devised for dramatic productions.[47]

The precise relations of Jakob Ayrer of Nuremberg, 1543–1605, to the English comedians is a problem that has interested investigators since 1817. In his *Deutsches Theater* Ludwig Tieck recognized that Ayrer's dramas stood in some close relation to the English dramas, but lacking accurate data, he supposed an early period of production antedating Ayrer's subjection to the influence of the comedians. In Bamberg, where he lived from 1570–1592, Ayrer wrote, to be sure, a single drama, but the time of his activity was 1593–1605. In 1593 he moved back to his birthplace, Nuremberg. In that same year and frequently thereafter during the entire brief period of his dramatic productivity he saw the English comedians play, but there is no evidence of any development in his art. His plays are narratives in dialogue form. Their length is not limited by action or character unity, for Ayrer had no ability to eliminate

[45] Evans [125].
[46] Evans [94] and [125].
[47] Hartleb [135].

the unessential. The repertory of the English comedians was but one of his sources. He drew also upon Boccaccio, Frischlin, Wickram, Hans Sachs, and the folk books. He knew the stage of Hans Sachs and of the English comedians and wrote for the latter. Creizenach attributes to him the endeavor to unite the art of the two. From Hans Sachs he accepted the rhymed verse, from the English comedians the fool, whose function in the play he failed to understand; but an attempt to fuse the stages of Sachs and the comedians was foredoomed to failure, if for no other reason, because Ayrer had no stage at his disposal and probably never saw one of his own plays produced.[48] He wrote 106 plays of which 69 have been preserved,[49] but the archives of Nuremberg attest to no production of a play by Ayrer.[50]

It is unlikely that Ayrer ever had in his hand the manuscript of a play by the English comedians. He saw several of their performances and thus derived from them some of his subject matter. His *Eroberung von Konstantinopel* owes much to the *Türkische Triumphkomödie*, which in turn goes back to a lost play of George Peele, *The Turkish Mahomet and Hyrin the Fair Greek*. His *Pelimperia* is closely related to Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*. His *Edward III* may be related to the pseudo-Shakespearean drama of the same name but more likely both go back to a common source in Benedetto. His *Comedia vom König in Cypern* is connected with Machin's *The Dumb Knight*, which appeared in Spencer's repertory as *Philole und Mariana oder Untreu schlegt seinen eignen Herrn*. His *Comedia von einem alten Buler und Wucherer* follows closely the words and action of a farce of the English comedians *Ein lustig Pickelheringspiel von der schönen Maria und dem alten Hahnrei*. His *Comedia von zweyen Brüdern aus Syracusa* stands closer to Plautus than does *The Comedy of Errors*. His *Phenicia* goes back to an English "Ur-*Much Ado*" brought to the Continent and then made over into a novel by Brandt. Ayrer made use of Brandt's novel, the play of the comedians, and perhaps of Bandello's version as well.[51] As Ayrer died in 1605 and the *Tempest* did not appear until 1610 it can have no connection with Ayrer's *Sidea* except through some common source.[52]

In the German folk book Faust appears as a doctor of philosophy and theology only. The degree of doctor of laws was first conferred on him by Marlowe. This might conceivably have been reported in Nuremberg by the Brown troupe in 1596. In 1597 Ayrer published a work called *Historischer Processus Juris*. In it Faustus is a doctor of laws. This designation was announced in 1911 as "das erste Zeugnis für die Bekanntschaft mit

[48] Hofer [121] 71.
[49] *Ibid.*, 1.
[50] *Ibid.*, 69.
[51] Wodick [120] 52–82.
[52] Fouquet [707].

Marlowes *Faustus* in Deutschland."[53] The evidence should be viewed with skepticism, however, since from Ayrer's tedious account of the disputation it does not appear that the learned doctor of laws is identical either with the necromancer Georgius Sabellicus, Faustus junior, or with Marlowe's Doctor Faustus.

Ayrer, as little as Herzog Heinrich Julius, formed a bridge for Shakespeare's entrance into Germany. He respected the old Hans Sachs tradition but was stimulated by the external technique of the English comedians and welcomed additional sources for his plays. Gundolf says:

> Des Schuhmachers Werke sind alle zusammengehalten durch jene weltfreudige Stimmung, daß es so viele merkwürdige Dinge gibt, die man seinen lieben Landsleuten mitteilen kann. . . . Bei Ayrer fühlt man, . . . daß sie nicht mehr aus einem Lebensgefühl heraus geschaffen sind, sondern aus der selbständig und erstarrt weiter rollenden Tradition.[54]

To Gundolf all this is symptomatic of social and political decay. He sees in Ayrer "den Zerfall des deutschen Bürgergeistes," in Heinrich Julius "die Entfremdung der deutschen Fürsten," in the success of the English comedians "die Fremdherrschaft."[55]

All plays of the English comedians were presented without recognition of authorship and were reduced to raw material. If Shakespeare's plays fared rather better than the others at the hands of the comedians it was not because of any piety on their part, but only because the plots of *King Lear, Caesar, Othello, Romeo and Juliet, Hamlet,* and *Merchant of Venice* were hardy. They might be mangled but they could not quite be killed. And mangled they were. The German version of *Hamlet* represents, in Gundolf's words

> den Sieg der Bühnenburleske über Humor und Ironie, *Romeo,* den Sieg des Opernhaften über das Poetische, der *Jud von Venedig,* den Sieg der Garderobe über die Handlung. . . . Nacheinander werden weggefressen Sprache, Seele, Symbolik, Stimmung, Charakteristik, Sinn, Handlung, und nacheinander werden herrschend Stoffmasse, Clown, Dekoration, Musik, Garderobe.[56]

The one successful adaptor of an English play was Andreas Gryphius. Writing under the name of Philip-Gregorio Riesentod he gives in the introduction the following account of the origin of his *Absurda comica oder Herr Peter Squenz,* "Schimpff-Spiel," 1687:

> So wisse: Daß der umb gantz Deutschland wolverdienete, und in allerhand Sprachen und Mathemathischen Wissenschaften ausgeübete Mann, Daniel Schwenter, selbigen zum ersten zu Altdorff auff den Schauplatz geführet, von dannen er je länger je weiter

[53] Castle [116].
[54] Gundolf [652] 54.
[55] *Ibid.,* 56.
[56] Gundolf [652] 47 f.

gezogen, biß er endlich meinem liebsten Freunde begegnet, welcher ihn besser ausgerüstet, mit neuen Personen vermehret, und nebens einem seiner Trauerspiele aller Augen und Urtheil vorstellen lassen.

This account is in much need of clarification. It is not recorded that Daniel Schwenter wrote any comedy called "Peter Squenz," but he did write a lost play called *Serenus und Violandra,* which would be the appropriate framework for a "Peter Squenz." Schwenter could well have seen the "Englische Komödianten" present an adaptation of the peasants' play in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* at Nördlingen in 1604. The phrase "je länger je weiter gezogen" can well refer to comedians who took up his play and presented it on their journey. Gramsberger of Amsterdam made use of the subject matter in a play called *Kluchtighe Tragoedie of den Hartoog van Pierlepon,* which was published in 1650 but might well have been played before that date. Gryphius could then have seen the play during his stay in Holland, perhaps about the year 1647. Gryphius published his play in 1657 but indicated that it was written earlier, probably before 1650. Comparison shows that Gryphius made many changes in Gramsberger's comedy. These are of such a nature as to suggest that Gryphius had seen not only Gramsberger's play but the play of Schwenter as produced by the comedians. Despite the odyssey of Shakespeare's play, or perhaps because of it, a comedy developed in accord with Lessing's prescription, for out of the sleeve of the giant Shakespeare's mantle Gryphius made an excellent robe.

Part Two

RATIONALISM, SENTIMENTALISM, AND GENIUS

Chapter III

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Und warum ist's falscher Geschmack, dem Britten zu folgen?
Ist er nicht näher mit uns verwandt, als Galliens Sklaven,
Denen Gebrauch und Grammatik die stärksten Flügel beschneiden?
Deutsches sächsisches Blut schlägt in Brittanniens Barden.
Schande genug, daß Enkel von uns uns längst übertroffen,
Aber noch größere Schande, wenn wir nicht Enkel verstünden,
Und die gedankenreichsten Gesänge für schwülstig erklärten.
Aber noch brennt auch in unserem Deutschland das heilige Feuer,
Das von germanischen Barden auf brittische Barden gekommen.
Großer Millton, wer könnt, auch bey uns dich schöner verewgen,
Als ein Bodmer und Klopstock durch ihre göttlichen Lieder!
Die unsterbliche Rowe singt aus dem fühlenden Wieland;
Du, mein Gärtner, Giseke, Gleim, Schmidt, Gellert und Schlegel,
Rammler, Lessing, und Dusch; und du freymüthiger Huber,
Ihr seyd alle Germaniens Zierde; und alle Verehrer
Der mit uns so nahe verschwisterten brittischen Musen.
Und könnt ich dich, Ebert, vergessen! Du, der du die Sprache
Dieses denkenden Volkes zu deinem Eigenthum machest?
Du, der Herold von jedem Genie der dichtrischen Insel,
Wirst mit mir voll Mitleid die kriechenden Dunse verachten,
Die ihre Prosa voll hinkender Reime zur Göttinn erheben,
Oder vielleicht glüht schon ein glücklicher Schüler von Popen,
Welcher die stolzen Zwerge mit Dunciaden verewigt.

Thus Zachariä in his *Tageszeiten*, 1755,[1] emphasizes one of the leading trends of German literature at the middle of the eighteenth century, the preference of the younger school of poets for English literature. The English leadership continued. Goethe said to Eckermann in 1824: "Unsere Romane, unsere Trauerspiele, woher haben wir sie, als von Goldsmith, Fielding und Shakespeare?"[2] And Herder asserted in 1797:

Von den Engländern selbst [sind] ihre treflichsten Schriftsteller kaum mit so reger treuer Wärme aufgenommen worden, als von uns Shakespeare, Milton, Addison, Swift, Thomson, Sterne, Hume, Robertson, Gibbon, aufgenommen sind. Richardsons drei Romane haben in Deutschland ihre goldne Zeit erlebet; Youngs *Nachtgedanken*, *Tom Jones*, *Der Landpriester*, haben in Deutschland Sekten gestiftet.[3]

Literary Germany in the eighteenth century was involved in a process of reorientation. Critics and poets were turning away from the dogmas of the French classical school and seeking the inspiration of the classics at the fountain head. Simultaneously English literature gained the ascendancy in their minds over French models, and the upshot of both to-

[1] *Op. cit.*, Rostock, 1756; ed. 2, 1757, 62 f.
[2] Eckermann, *Gespräche*, 142.
[3] Herder, *Werke*, XVIII 208.

gether was the attainment of literary independence on the part of Germany. This was the all-important goal. As one critic has said: "Nicht mit Hilfe der romanischen Literaturen, sondern durch die stammverwandte englische sind wir im achtzehnten Jahrhundert ans Ziel des langjährigen Strebens gelangt." The same critic says elsewhere: "Hatte die französische Literatur einen vorwiegend formalen Einfluß ausgeübt, so wirkte die englische hauptsächlich stofflich,"[4]—but certainly not to the exclusion of form. Addison was looked upon as a master of prose, and Pope, for a time, of verse. Later the Germans echoed Thomson's tone and attempted to soar with Milton in his flight. They reproduced the letter form of Richardson's novels, Fielding's direct appeal to the reader, and the zigzag course of *Tristram Shandy*. Above all, the Shakespearean form of the drama broke down the prevailing French conventions. It is true that in the attempt to imitate the English models new concepts were added to the German language. Friendship, religious fervor, introspection, patriotism, and sentimentality were fostered, and the feeling for popular poetry was developed in part under English influences. But even so, such influences were not "stofflich," but rather, to make use of Gundolf's distinction, "Stoff, Form, Gehalt," they were influences of the third and highest kind.

Direct personal contact of an author with a foreign country was still unusual at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and Germany received few distinguished visitors. Addison and Sterne included France and Italy in their itineraries, leaving Germany aside as Milton had done before them. It was not until the end of the century that Coleridge and Wordsworth arrived as harbingers of a more active interest. German visitors to England became more frequent as the century advanced. Among the first notable poets to visit England were Haller and Hagedorn. The value of Haller's short stay in England in 1727 was impaired by his imperfect command of the English language.

Earlier and better than any of his contemporaries Hagedorn succeeded in conveying some of the English spirit into the German literary guild. His sojourn in England, 1729–1731, was a turning point in his own poetic career. It is true that as a native of Hamburg he had enjoyed a certain contact with English literature in his youth and had even contributed to the Hamburg *Patriot* two letters of the *Spectator* type. Moreover at Jena he had become familiar with the philosophy of Wolff, the popularizer not only of Leibniz but also of Shaftesbury and the English deists. Yet in his *Versuch einiger Gedichte*, 1729, poems inspired by Horace contrast with others in the style of Hofmannswaldau and his muse is wavering and undetermined. Then came Hagedorn's two years in London, "die

[4] Koch [141] 40 and 7.

einzigen Jahre," as he later wrote Bodmer, "die ich wieder zu erleben wünschte."[5] In England he published two short articles, never identified, in the English language.[6] There is no evidence that he became acquainted with Pope, Thomson, Young, Richardson, Gay, or any other English men of letters, but he knew their works and added them to his excellent and well-read library.[7]

The English poetry of the time appealed to Hagedorn's optimistic and carefree nature and its love of country life. Its philosophy of happiness, freedom, and friendship; and its hatred of pedantry and servility, so in harmony with Horace's, he readily made his own. A philosophy of happiness was looked upon with suspicion in Protestant circles in Germany, and pedantry, factionalism, class pride, and servility prevailed even in literary circles. It was the release from this stifling atmosphere that so endeared London life to him for he was a good fellow among his colleagues, ever ready to lend a hand or even a book,[8] asking no deference from his less successful competitors and heedless of his, to be sure somewhat doubtful, title of nobility. Only in his Horatian praise of country life he may have professed too much.

In the year 1763 Justus Möser was called to London on a mission connected with the regency of the English royal house over the bishopric Osnabrück. He remained there eight months and saw England during one of her most prosperous periods. He was a keen and interested observer of the operation of constitutional law, politics, industry, trade, literature, drama, national recreation, and above all of all types of human character. His biographer Nicolai says: "Seine unnachahmliche Laune ward hier hauptsächlich, wo nicht erweckt, doch noch mehr entwickelt."[9] Five years after his return, Möser founded *Die Osnabrückischen Intelligenzblätter*, patterned after English weeklies he had seen. In it he published his *Patriotische Phantasien*. Goethe compared Möser with Franklin "in Absicht auf Wahl gemeinnütziger Gegenstände, auf tiefe Einsicht, freie Übersicht, glückliche Behandlung, so gründlichen als frohen Humor,"[10] while Nicolai called him Addison's peer as a statesman and man of affairs, and said:

> Beiden war die feine Weltkenntnis, die ungesuchte Eleganz, der Sinn für das Schickliche, die mannigfaltige Einkleidung und die Gabe, ganz kleine Gegenstände zu

[5] "Ungedruckte Briefe in Zürich"; cf. Coffman [243] 321.
[6] Hagedorn, *Werke*, IV 9.
[7] Hagedorn makes at least 75 references to English literature; cf. Coffman [243] 90–97.
[8] Hagedorn lent Bodmer Turnbull's edition of Shaftesbury and Johnson's *Plan of a Dictionary of the English Language*. He lent Brockes all his works on Chaucer and Hume's *Essays*. Vetter [214].
[9] Nicolai, "Leben Mösers" in Möser, *Werke*, ed. Abeken, Berlin, 1843, X 30.
[10] Goethe, *Werke*, I (28) 240 f.

wichtigen Folgen anzuwenden, gemein. Der *Zuschauer* und die *Phantasien* stehen in gleichem Range.[11]

The Swiss poet Tscharner made a trip to England in 1751 especially to visit Young, with whom he spent two or three days.[12] Lessing's cousin, Mylius, included English literature in the scope of his planned investigations but died soon after his arrival in London in 1754. In England Hamann experienced his religious crisis and gained there the command of the language necessary to his later studies. Sturz accompanied Christian VII of Denmark to England, August to October, 1768, and found time to make the acquaintance of Garrick, Colman, Macpherson, and Doctor Johnson.

The poet and artist Johann Heinrich Füssli, compelled for political reasons to flee from Zürich, took up his abode in London, 1763–1777. On the advice of Reynolds he devoted himself chiefly to painting, but found time to participate in English and German literature and to serve as a moderator between the two. He was acquainted with Smollett, Sterne, and Doctor Johnson and wrote to Lavater reports on the state of English literature which were passed on to Herder, Zimmermann, Goethe, and Merck. Early associated with Bodmer, he was an opponent of Nicolai and the Berlin "Aufklärung." Although fifteen years younger than Hamann he may be regarded as one of the earliest forerunners of the "Sturm und Drang" movement.

Toward the end of the century German visitors had only praise for English literature and life. Lichtenberg was called by his colleagues at Göttingen an Anglophile. He made two trips to England, 1771 and 1775, and was well received by court and theater. The king accepted him as a friend and Garrick said his English was the best he had ever heard from the lips of a foreigner.[13]

Karl Philipp Moritz traveled afoot in England and thus learned to know intimately the simple folk. He was impressed by the close bond between poet and people. In his *Reisen eines Deutschen in England im Jahre 1782* he wrote:

Ausgemacht ist es, daß die englischen klassischen Schriftsteller, ohne alle Vergleichung, häufiger gelesen werden, als die deutschen. Meine Wirtin, die nur eine Schneiderwitwe ist, liest ihren Milton, und erzählt mir, daß ihr verstorbner Mann sie eben wegen der guten Deklamation, womit sie den Milton las, zuerst liebgewonnen habe. Dieser einzelne Fall würde nichts beweisen, allein ich habe schon mehrere Leute von geringerem Stande gesprochen, die alle ihre Nationalschriftsteller kannten und teils gelesen hatten. Dies veredelt die niedern Stände und bringt sie den Höhern

[11] Möser, *Werke*, X 73.
[12] Kind [625] 77 f.
[13] Lichtenberg, *Briefe*, ed. Leitzmann and Schüddekopf, Leipzig, 1901, I 240.

näher. Es gibt dort beinahe keinen Gegenstand der gewöhnlichen Unterredung im höhern Stande, worüber der niedre nicht auch mitsprechen könnte. In Deutschland ist seit Gellerten noch kein Dichtername eigentlich wieder im Munde des Volks gewesen.[14]

Four years later England found another enthusiastic appreciator in the author of *Die Geschichte des Fräuleins von Sternheim.* The high point of the forty days of Sophie La Roche in England was her visit to Fanny Burney.[15] Otherwise for her, as for her predecessors, the center of interest was London life and the London theater.[16]

If English men of letters failed to visit Germany they were at least accessible through correspondence. Haller, Klopstock, and Meta wrote admiring letters to Richardson. Klopstock opened up a futile correspondence with Macpherson regarding the presumable melodies of the Ossianic songs,[17] and Young replied graciously to Klopstock and his other German admirers, promising to meet them in heaven.

More broadly effective, however, was the mediation of journalism. The *Spectator*, *Tatler*, and *Guardian* were the pioneers here and their work was of transcendant importance.[18] The English magazines, and the French as well, were plundered of their content, usually without acknowledgment. The *Frankfurter gelehrte Anzeigen* borrowed over a hundred pages from the *Monthly Review*, the *Gentleman's Magazine*, as well as from the *Mercure de France*,[19] and Christian Felix Weisse, as editor of the *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften*, borrowed reviews systematically from such leading English journals as the *Monthly Review* and the *Critical Review*.[20] Such practices led the *Neues Hannoverisches Magazin* to publish an indignant article entitled: "Über die Diebstahle der Gelehrten."[21]

English satires were frequently drafted for service in German literary feuds. Christian Wernigke had served as a diplomat in London and Paris, but literature was his main preoccupation. A deserter from the so-called second Silesian school, he made an attack, in the second edition of his *Überschriften*, 1701, upon his once admired Lohenstein. Christian Postel, a leading admirer of the Hamburg opera and of bombast generally, retorted with a sonnet, to which Wernigke replied with his *Heldengedicht, Hans Sachs genannt, aus dem englischen übersetzt*, 1702. This was in reality an adaptation of Dryden's *MacFlecknoe or a Satyr on the True Blew Protestant Poet T. S.* (Thomas Shadwell). In it Stelpo (Postel) and

[14] Zur Linde [280] 24 f.
[15] Robertson [252].
[16] Kelly [144].
[17] See pp. 129 f., below.
[18] See pp. 51 ff., below.
[19] See Trieloff [202].
[20] Giessing [292] and Wilkie [293].
[21] *Loc. cit.*, 1800; quoted by Giessing [292] 32.

Hans Sachs are made to play the unwelcome roles of Shadwell and MacFlecknoe. Bodmer reprinted the work in 1741, associating the rhyming Gottsched with the Hans Sachs–Stelpo school. It passed through four editions during the Leipzig-Swiss controversy.

In 1737 Bodmer published a translation of two cantos of *Hudibras* without any attempt at adaptation. "Ein *Hudibras* für uns wäre Überfluß und unnötig, wir leben nicht mehr in den schwärmerischen Zeiten Karls des Ersten."[22] His rendering was in prose and he misquoted Addison to the effect that the rhyme was a matter of minor importance. Gottsched reviewed the translation and hoped for a translation in verse, "und zwar in solche, die hübsch altfränkisch klingen."[23] He volunteered a few specimens of his own fabrication. When Bodmer's friend Waser completed Bodmer's translation in 1765, even Haller was compelled to agree with Gottsched in regretting the prose form.[24] The earliest complete verse translation of *Hudibras* was that of Soltau in 1787, but meanwhile fragmentary translations in verse had appeared in the *Teutscher Merkur*.[25]

When the conflict with Gottsched was at its height, Bodmer made further efforts to turn English satires to his advantage. In his *Complott der herrschenden Poeten*, 1742, he borrowed some motifs from Pope's *Dunciad*.[26] Later he projected a *Dunciad* of his own, a fragment of which appeared in 1747 with an introduction indicating German counterparts of Pope's dunces. Certain lines were consecrated to Mylius, Schwabe, and others, but Bodmer's satire fell rather flat on the whole, and the Swiss were as little successful as Gottsched in claiming Pope as sanction for their party. Young's satires made little stir in Germany. Written 1725–1728, they were first commented on in 1745. Both Bodmer and Gottsched translated fragments of them, the latter attributing them to Glover.[27]

Bodmer fared little better with his *Geschichte Edward Grandisons in Görlitz*, 1755. The idea of satirizing his literary opponent in a novel he may have derived, like the later Musäus, from Fielding's *Joseph Andrews*. Passing through Görlitz, Edward Grandison, a second Charles Grandison, listens to the vituperations of Schönaich, Gottsched, and others of the camp against the Swiss writers. The mention of Milton's name in their connection arouses his curiosity. He reads for himself some works of the rival groups and promptly decides in favor of the Swiss. Bodmer

[22] Bodmer [289].
[23] *Beyträge zur critischen Historie . . .*, XVII (1737) 71.
[24] GGA, 1766, 32.
[25] Canto I by "K," *Teutscher Merkur*, 1778, III 222–237 and 1778, IV 201–224. Also a part of Canto I by S[oltau] in 1779.
[26] Eichler [364] 233. Cf. Baumgartner [360].
[27] Kind [625] 120.

was at least coauthor of this work, though it was published under Wieland's name.[28]

On the whole, such feeble imitations of English satire prove nothing more than a desire on the part of the leading German literary cliques to measure themselves by the standards of English criticism and find themselves not wanting. Their observations led to no valuable creative work. Rabener may have borrowed a little from Swift here and there and used it in his comparatively tame satires. Hagedorn discovered "Swiftische Erfindung" in Liscow's *Briontes*, 1732,[29] and Bodmer joined with others in calling him "der deutsche Swift," but Pope, Arbuthnot, and Boileau were far more important to Liscow than Swift.[30] There were comparatively few attempts to adapt Swift's works to German conditions. Schwabe in his translation of *The Art of Sinking in Poetry* goes farthest in this direction. At Gottsched's suggestion he undertook to provide examples of bathos from German poets as well as from English.[31]

As for Swift's account of *Gulliver's Travels*, its satiric and misanthropic intent was noted and condemned at least by Wieland. A French translation published in Holland in 1727 was sold out in a few months. Thereupon the work was translated into German (Hamburg and Leipzig) in the same year, apparently from the French.[32] Three other translations were made during the course of the century.[33] A reviewer of a translation of 1804 assumed that every one was familiar with the work,[34] but the evidence is not convincing. It is certain, however, that Swift's literary character and many of his works were known to German men of letters. Gottsched, Bodmer, Haller, Hagedorn, Liscow, Rabener, Gellert, Kästner, Lessing, Lichtenberg, Herder, Kant, and Goethe refer to him in some way and chiefly with respect,[35] though specific mention of *Gulliver's Travels* is relatively infrequent. Because the full satiric import of the work was not generally grasped it was regarded chiefly as a book for children.

[28] *Re* the authorship see Hordorff in *Euphorion*, XIX (1912) 66–91; Budde, "Wieland and Bodmer," in *Palaestra*, LXXXIX (1910) 103–129; Vetter [216]; and Waniek [238] index.

[29] Litzmann, B. *Christian Ludwig Liscow . . .*, Hamburg, 1888, 73.

[30] *Ibid.*, 74.

[31] *Anti Longin oder die Kunst in der Poesie zu kriechen, anfänglich von dem Herrn D. Swift den Engländern zum besten geschrieben, itzo zur Verbesserung des Geschmacks bey uns Deutschen übersetzt und mit Exemplen aus englischen, vornehmlich aber aus unsern deutschen Dichtern durchgehends erläutert*, Leipzig, 1734.

[32] Wieland, *Schriften*, I 7, pp. 384–392.

[33] Waser, Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1761; K[röger], Kopenhagen, 1786–1787; Risbeck, Zürich, 1788. Cf. Blaßneck [18] 94–98.

[34] Philippovic [601].

[35] Cf. Index.

Despite the frequency with which their names have been linked, Lichtenberg was rather apathetic to Swift. A recent biographer says:

Swift spielt in Lichtenbergs Bemerkungen so gut wie keine Rolle, von einer Sympathie zu dem großen Hasser ist keine Rede. Lichtenberg mochte die dunkle Dämonie dieses Nihilismus spüren und hat sich ihr instinktiv entzogen. Eine Nachahmung von *Gullivers Reisen* ist das Fragment "Lorenz Eschenheimers empfindsame Reise nach Laputa," das bereits nach einigen Sätzen abbricht.[36]

In *Dichtung und Wahrheit* Goethe says that Herder was known in his intimate circle as "der Dechant," "weil [er] unter allen Schriftstellern und Menschen Swiften am meisten zu ehren schien."[37] It is time that we should dismiss the idea that Goethe in his *Stella* had in mind the situation of Swift, between Stella and Vanessa. It is not even certain that that episode in his life was known to the Germans in 1775.[38]

The social criticism implied in Daniel Defoe's *The Life and Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*, 1719, was more readily assimilated in Germany. This novel was of all English works the earliest to become a part of world literature.[39] It was translated into German in 1720 by Magister Ludwig Vischer, and passed into a second edition the following year.[40] Probably the earliest imitation was *Der teutsche Robinson oder Bernhard Creutz, das ist Eines übelgearteten Jünglings seltsame Lebensbeschreibung . . .* , 1722. There followed a "fränkischer," "pfälzischer," "westfälischer," "brandenburgischer," "Leipziger," and "Berliner" Robinson. Along with these there appeared "der medizinische," "der geistliche," "der buchhändlerische," and even "der jüdische Robinson."[41] Of all imitations the most successful was Campe's *Robinson der Jüngere*, 1779, which passed into its 150th edition in 1891.[42] By that time it had been translated into French, Italian, Spanish, Latin, English, Dutch, Danish, Swedish, Polish, Lithuanian, Turkish, and ancient Greek. A mere list of the imitations and imitations of imitations requires a stout volume,[43] but if we seek for influence we must look elsewhere.

[36] Grenzmann, W. *Georg Christoph Lichtenberg*, Salzburg und Leipzig, 1939, 102. The title of the satire was *Lorenz Eschenheimers empfindsame Reise nach Lapita; Schreiben des Hrn* $vx^6 + dx^5ddy$ *Trullrub, Aeltesten der Akademie zu Lagoda, das Empfindsame im Reisen zu Wasser und zu Lande und im Hause sitzend betreffend, aus dem Hochbalnabarischen übersetzt von M. S.* M. S. = Martinus Scriblerus. Cf. Lichtenbergs "Tagebuch" under date of October 7, 1785.

[37] Goethe, *Werke*, I (28) 111.

[38] Castle, *In Goethes Geist*, Wien und Leipzig, 1926, 113 f.

[39] Ullrich [344] records the following translations: 5 Dutch, 49 French, 21 German (chiefly before the appearance of Campe's *Robinson der Jüngere* in 1778), 5 Danish, 4 Swedish, 3 Polish, 2 Spanish, 2 Arabic, 2 Old Grecian, 1 Finnish, 1 Turkish, 1 Maori, 1 Bengalese, 1 Maltese, 1 Hungarian, 1 Armenian, 2 Hebrew, 1 Gaelic, 2 Portuguese, 1 Esthonian, and 1 Persian. Cf. Ullrich, *Defoes Robinson Crusoe, die Geschichte eines Weltbuches*, Leipzig, 1924.

[40] *Re* the translator see Bibliography [357]–[359].

[41] Flindt [143] 8. [42] Philippovic [601] 28. [43] Ullrich [344] 67–83.

The first element in Robinson Crusoe is adventure on land and sea. This connects it with the seventeenth-century novel. A second element is made up of the philosophy and theology Robinson develops in his isolation. Robinson was pious, but not in the German sense a pietist. He preferred to remain asocial. In 1731 Schnabel wrote a novel which was a "Robinsonade" with a pietistic nuance. In 1828 Tieck reëdited it and gave it the less cumbersome title *Die Insel Felsenburg.*[44] Four shipwrecked travelers resolve to found a community in which each member is regardful of the welfare of the others. The one recalcitrant member meets a death consonant with poetic justice. As the second generation reaches maturity, husbands and wives must be found for it. When shipwrecks fail to make provision, the unmarried make journeys overseas, but every new member must pass the test of selflessness. Thus, far removed from the selfish intrigues of an aging world, a pietistic Utopia of Christian brotherhood is founded.

The favor this novel found revealed the longings of the time. It was worked over and continued by writers, German and foreign, and translated into Danish and thence into Icelandic. It had no German rival, but Gellert's *Das Leben der schwedischen Gräfin von G.*, 1749, is related to it. Gellert's work has some of the adventurous episodes of the seventeenth-century novel, but its central element is the ideal of a community of Christian harmony. Its originality lies in the fact that it pictures such a group in the midst of the intrigues of the old world. In its problem setting Gellert's work thus deserves a modest place along with such greater novels as *Parzifal*, *Simplicissimus*, and *Wilhelm Meister*.

Five geographic foci connected Germany in different ways with English literature: Holland, Leipzig, Hamburg, Zürich, and Göttingen. Holland's importance dates from the preceding century, as we have seen. But even though the accession of William of Orange to the English throne in 1689 made England safer for dissenters, Holland continued its intermediary role. To mention only two striking incidents: It was the Amsterdam *Spectateur ou le Socrate moderne*, 1714–1726 which led to the founding of the Zürich *Discourse der Mahlern* in 1722, and it was chiefly by

[44] The original title was *Wunderliche / FATA / einiger / SEE—FAHRER, / absonderlich / ALBERTI JULII, eines gebohrnen Sachsens, / Welcher in seinem 18ten Jahre zu Schiffe / gegangen durch Schiff-Bruch selbste an eine / grausame Klippe geworffen worden nach deren Übersteigung / das schönste Land entdeckt, sich daselbst mit seiner Gefährtin verheyrathet aus solcher Ehe eine Familie von mehr als / 300 Seelen erzeuget, das Land vortrefflich angebauet / durch besondere Zufälle erstaunenswürdige Schätze ge- / sammlet, seine in Teutschland ausgekundschafften Freunde / glücklich gemacht am Ende des 1728sten Jahres, als in / seinem Hunderten Jahre, annoch frisch und gesund gelebt / und vermuthlich noch zu dato lebt, / entworffen / Von dessen Bruders-Sohnes-Sohnes-Sohne, / MONS. EBERHARD JULIO, / Curieusen Lesern aber zum vermuthlichen / Gemüths-Vergnügen ausgefertiget, auch par Commission / dem Drucke übergeben / Von GISANDERN.* Gisander was Schnabel's pseudonym. Cf. Ullrich [344] 125 f.

way of Holland that Milton became known to Zürich and thus to Germany.[45]

Amsterdam, The Hague, and Leyden were all important centers for the dissemination of new ideas. Francis Hutcheson's *Inquiry into the Original of Beauty and Virtue*, 1725, was reviewed by Le Clerc in Amsterdam the following year and there translated into French in 1749. The first German translation dates from 1760. In Amsterdam appeared also the first continental translations of the English *Spectator* and *Guardian*, of Pope's *Essay on Criticism*, of Richardson's *Pamela*, and Fielding's *Joseph Andrews*. John Locke's *Essay on Human Understanding* was brought to completion while its author was living in Amsterdam, concealed under the name of Van der Linden. Its contents were first made known to the world by an outline which appeared in 1688 in the *Bibliothèque universelle* of his friend Le Clerc, a fugitive from the too rigid Calvinism of Geneva. The first Latin edition of the *Essay* was published in London in 1701, the second in Amsterdam in 1729, whence it passed to Leipzig in 1757.

Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* and *The Tale of the Tub* were first translated into French at The Hague, 1727 and 1721; the first German translations appeared in 1727 and 1729. After circulating many years in manuscript, Muralt's *Lettres sur les Anglois et les François* first saw the light in Holland. At least in part: one letter was published in *Les Nouvelles littéraires de la Haye*, seven years before their publication in entirety, 1725.

Leyden continued to be an international university. Haller reported: "Leyden ins besondere scheint mit Fleiß zum Nutzen der Lernenden bequem gemacht zu sein. . . . Einer frischt den andern mit seinem Beyspiele an, und wer nicht arbeiten will, muß lange Weile und verdrüßlichen Müssiggang erwarten."[46] Haller, like many another, went to Leyden to learn from the famous anatomist Boerhave. Haller tells us that Boerhave had about 120 students. Of these, he says, 40 were English and 20 German. The others were French, Dutch, "nordische Völker" and "bisweilen Griechen."[47] There were about 400 students in all at Leyden at the time. Whether they conversed among themselves in French or in Latin, variously mispronounced, is not indicated, but there was certainly no language bar to their free intercourse.

Leipzig, as a "Klein-Paris," welcomed such poetic influence as had a distinct French admixture. The sound sense of Addison and Pope and their clarity of style were lauded by Gottsched's literary organs as enthusiastically as by the French journals which Gottsched read so assiduously. The later waves of English influence Gottsched naturally felt com-

[45] See p. 105, below.
[46] Haller, *Tagebuch seiner Reisen . . .*, ed. Hirzel, Leipzig, 1883, 27 f.
[47] *Ibid.*, 106. Cf. 38.

pelled to oppose, but his recalcitrant protégés, the "Bremer Beyträger," paid to Klopstock, at the beginning of his career, homage such as Addison had once paid to the dead Milton in the *Spectator*.

Hamburg had ancient relations with England founded on the traffic by sea. Many translations from the English came early and late from Hamburg, Brockes's translations of Pope and Thomson, and Bode's of *Tristram Shandy* among them; and Hamburg was first and foremost in the founding of popular weeklies of the English type, Leipzig and Zürich taking second and third place in this respect.

Zürich's affiliation with England was of a religious origin dating back at least to the time when English Protestants sought shelter there in the reign of "Bloody Mary." It is not surprising, then, that Milton's first advocate in Germany should have been a citizen of Zürich. Bodmer's interest in English literature was lifelong and extended to religious poetry, to satirical poetry, to the Percy ballads, and even to Shakespeare. He quoted Addison's glorification of Shakespeare and Milton, fired Klopstock with Milton's zeal, and probably first called Wieland's attention to Shakespeare. Wieland's translation appeared in Zürich, 1762–1767, as did also its revision and continuation by Eschenburg. Dryden was one of Bodmer's favorite authors, and *All for Love or A World Well Lost*, one of the first English works he requested of Zellweger.[48] *The Tempest* was an important source of his *Noah*,[49] and he translated some passages from it in his *Abhandlung von dem Wunderbaren in der Poesie*, 1740.

A group of associates shared his interest, among them Waser, deacon in Winterthur, the translator of Swift's works and of Butler's *Hudibras;* Johannes Tobler, pastor at Ermatingen, the translator of Thomson's *Seasons*, 1757–1764; Grynäus, the translator of Dryden's *Oedipus*, 1759, *The State of Innocence or The Fall of Man*, 1754, and *Romeo and Juliet*, 1754; and Drollinger, the first translator of Pope's *Essay on Criticism*, 1741. The sermons of many English theologians were translated in Zürich, among them those of Isaac Barrow, Samuel Clarke, James Duchal, Richard Hurd, John Taylor, John Tillotson, and, last but not least, Laurence Sterne. English philosophy was represented by Fordyce, Ferguson, and Webb. In a moral weekly, *Das Angenehme mit dem Nützlichen*, 1756–1767, Bacon, Shaftesbury, Hume, Steele, Addison, Swift, Pope, Buckingham, Rochester, and John Gay are represented.

With the founding of its university in the 1730's Göttingen prepared to rival Leipzig, Zürich, and Hamburg as a center of English influence. Two of its most noted professors had visited England, Haller for a few weeks and Michaelis for several months. Later Lichtenberg was to form

[48] Vetter [216] 322.
[49] Ibershoff [362].

still closer ties with England. Haller, to be sure, almost ceased during the Göttingen years to be a creative man of letters, but his reviews of Ossian's poems and Richardson's novels[50] were in harmony with the literary tone in Göttingen. Michaelis and Lichtenberg were both regarded at the university as prejudiced anglophiles. Lichtenberg's admiration for Shakespeare, Fielding, Sterne, and Swift often took the form of belittling comparison of his German contemporaries with his English literary heroes. His description in Boie's *Deutsches Museum* of Garrick's Shakespearean performances and his explanation of Hogarth's pictures threw light on English literature and life. Of the many youths sent from England to Göttingen for their education, several were especially commended to the good graces of Lichtenberg. One of his last visitors was to have been Coleridge, but Lichtenberg died shortly before his arrival.

Most of the leading poets of the Göttinger Bund, Hölty, Voss, and Miller among them, gave English lessons to Germans or German lessons to young Englishmen. Bürger hoped once to be taken to England as a private tutor.[51] These poets served as a link between the fruitful investigations of academic Göttingen and the new romantic trend in German literature. Although Königsberg, Strassburg, and Frankfurt were the scenes of the brilliant achievements of the "Sturm und Drang" a solid foundation was laid by patient studies in Göttingen. Common to nearly all members of the new literary group in Germany was an admiration for Homer, Shakespeare, Ossian, and popular poetry. Here Göttingen offers names that deserve a modest place beside those of Hamann and Herder. In his *Essay on the Original Genius of Homer,* 1769, Robert Wood had given expression to some revolutionary ideas in regard to his subject, but the essay existed in only seven manuscript copies. One of these copies, however, Wood sent to Michaelis of Göttingen, whom he much esteemed. Michaelis showed it to his colleague Heyne, who made the work known all over Germany through an enthusiastic review in the *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen,*[52] and Michaelis's son translated the essay in 1778. Not until two years later was the work revised and printed in England. Meanwhile the manuscript at Göttingen impressed Herder just prior to the *Briefwechsel über Ossian und die Lieder alter Völker.* Voss's occupation with Homer began in 1770 with a translation of Blackwell's *Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer.* He assisted Boie (1776–1777) in his translation of Chandler's *Travels in Asia Minor,* and *Travels in Greece,* and then proceeded, 1781, to better Pope's translation of Homer, which the new English philological method had shown to be so inadequate.

[50] See pp. 125 and 165-167, below.
[51] Wicke [237] 23 ff.
[52] *Loc. cit.,* 1770, I 257–270.

In the cult of Shakespeare, Göttingen was only a pace behind Strassburg and Frankfurt. The university received with warm approval Young's *Conjectures on Original Composition*, and in Göttingen, as in Strassburg, the students imitated the quips, phrases, and mannerisms of Shakespeare. "Shakespeares Tag" was celebrated in all three cities, and when Schröder was playing in adjacent Hannover he and Bürger planned their stage edition of *Macbeth*.[53] When Herder visited Göttingen in 1772, he found Haller, Voss, and Bürger interested in Ossian, and Boie, Bürger, and the "Göttinger Bund" later took an active interest in the folk songs.

The record of the reception of English literature in Germany is no obscure bypath but one of the main highroads of literary ascent. Note the bold and rapid summary of the period in a well-known history:

> Da kommen die Vorklassiker. Haller bringt wieder Ernst und Kraft, Hagedorn Leichtigkeit und Geschmack, Gellert lehrt wieder eine gewisse Natürlichkeit der Rede, Gottsched und die Schweizer gewinnen wieder höhere Standpunkte der Kritik und der litterarischen Pädagogik. Auf dem Fuß folgen ihnen die Klassiker. Klopstock giebt ein großes Beispiel dichterischer Kühnheit; er ergreift schwungvoll die höchsten Interessen: Religion, Vaterland, Humanität, und spricht in seinen Oden persönliche Empfindungen frei und wahr aus. Lessing wirft mit sicherer Kritik den angehäuften Dilettantismus beiseite, schafft eine Prosa, wie Deutschland sie seit Luther nicht kannte, und erzieht durch seine stolze Selbständigkeit ein seit Jahrhunderten an bestellte Arbeit gewöhntes Publikum zu der Forderung, daß der Dichter sich selbst und seine innere Wahrheit geben müsse. Wieland lernt Franzosen und Engländern die bei uns gänzlich verfallene Kunst der Erzählung ab und würzt sie durch eine freie Gesinnung. Herder betont den Begriff der Originalität, reißt endgültig die Scheidewand nieder, die den "Gebildeten" den Blick auf die volkstümliche Dichtung entzog, und bahnt den großen Verkehr einer Weltliteratur an.[54]

We, then, shall have to inquire to what extent Pope, Prior, Dryden, and Thomson helped Hagedorn toward his facile manner and good taste, how much of his grace of style Gellert owes to Addison; how much Addison, Milton, and Shakespeare contributed to the esthetic and literary principles developed by Gottsched and the Swiss scholars; how much Klopstock was indebted to Milton and Thomson for the new ideals wherewith he was able to enrich German life and poetry; how much of the art of entertaining narration Wieland learned from the English; how much support for his ideas in regard to genius Herder found in Shakespeare and in Macpherson's Ossianic poems; and to what extent the Percy collection of ballads helped him to break down the barrier that kept the educated from appreciating folk poetry.

To such a theme there are two possible methods of approach. One may

[53] Wicke [237] 44. Cf. Goethe, *Werke*, I (28) 74 and I (37) 130.
[54] R. M. Meyer, *Die deutsche Literatur des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1910, I 2 f.

depart from the poets and movements in English literature and describe their impact upon German production, or one may take up the German authors and German literary movements and connect them with English poets and poetry. The former method has been chosen as more practical. It is not the ambitious intent of this study to trace all such connections. The receptions accorded such writers as Dryden and Defoe are productive themes, the upshot of which is but scantily represented in the terminal bibliography of this survey. A choice has been made of certain English authors whose characteristics, as reflected in German literature, best serve to emphasize the cultural relations between the two lands in question. During three-quarters of the eighteenth century Germany was a receiver rather than a giver of literary impulses. Let it be said here that a simultaneous sketch of English, French, and German literature during this period would be more veracious, but the fact that the English impulses were on the increase during these years justifies in a slight measure the preferential treatment of "die erwachende Macht der englischen Literatur," as Fritz Strich has recently called it.[55]

At the beginning of the eighteenth century England, like France, could look back upon an almost continuous literary development. German literature had twice been interrupted for long periods. The library of so widely read a man as Goethe's father, for example, contained no German poets of earlier date than Opitz, but Germany's sun was about to rise. The sequence Shakespeare–Milton–Addison in English literature indicates a decline of poetic power. The sequence rationalism–sentimentalism–"Sturm und Drang," in Germany represents an ascension. Thus German poets met English poets in inverse chronological order, for German literature had to reach successively higher plateaus before it could meet the English poets on an equal footing. Addison and Pope were accepted while still alive by the rationalists. Thomson, Young, and Milton were appreciated in the more sensitive decades that followed; and the proper approach to Shakespeare was delayed until the 1770's.

Thus we come to the three waves of literary impact discerned by Hohlfeld and long discussed in his seminars at Wisconsin. It would be simple to say that Addison and Pope were appreciated by the rationalists, Milton and Young by the sentimentalists, and Shakespeare by the "Stürmer und Dränger"—simple, but by no means accurate. The definition of "waves" is difficult, but it is certain, in the first place, that they occupy space and time, and in the second place, that they overlap and that their waters blend. Addison and Steele are chiefly rationalists in their moral weeklies, but Addison eulogized Milton and Shakespeare, and Steele wrote sentimental comedies and sentimental tales. Thomson's

[55] Strich [234].

tragedies were of the Augustan type, but his *Seasons* ushered in a sentimental appreciation of nature. Young's tragedies, his *Night Thoughts* and his *Conjectures on Original Composition* are akin to three successive phases of German literary development.

At one time the Wisconsin formulation of the wave theory was sketched as follows:

1. The "Augustan" wave, 1720–1750, chiefly represented by Addison, Swift, Defoe, Shaftesbury, Pope. Thomson forms the transition to:

2. The "Miltonian" wave, 1740–1770, chiefly represented by Milton, Young, Richardson. The controversy of the Leipzig and Swiss schools over the supremacy of the French or English standard and Macpherson's Ossianic poems lead over to:

3. The "Shakespearean" wave, 1760–1780, chiefly represented by Sterne (and the other novelists), Percy's *Reliques*, and Shakespeare.

The chapters on the eighteenth century which follow were written in acceptance of the wave theory but with a less rigid chronological pattern in mind, and a less rigid classification of the factors. To be more specific:

1. Thomson, to be sure, forms a transition to the Miltonian wave, but so do others of the Augustans. Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* was translated in 1720, a year after its appearance in England. Reëditions, new translations, and imitations followed, but it first became dynamic with the publication of Schnabel's *Insel Felsenburg*, 1729. This novel, however, is an early monument of pietism bearing a message similar to Gellert's *Leben der Schwedischen Gräfin von G.*, 1746. Addison's essay on Milton in the *Spectator* was a chief factor in the acceptance of Milton in Germany and led directly to Bodmer's translation of *Paradise Lost*, 1732, which was received with immediate enthusiasm. There are good reasons for regarding 1732 as the beginning of the enthusiasm for Milton, and 1747, the date of the first "Gesänge" of Klopstock's *Messias*, as the climax. The later "Gesänge" were received with ever diminishing interest and the completion in the midst of the "Sturm und Drang" movement was scarcely noted.

2. Richardson is not entirely at ease in the group proposed. His ethical system is related to that of the moral weeklies, even though the form he chose called for the play of the emotions. In many respects he is a belated Augustan. Herder's second reading of *Clarissa* convinced him of this. With a similar disregard of majority opinion I would place Lillo in the first group. Nor would I place Sterne in the third group but rather in the first and second. It will be shown later that the German "Aufklärer" found much to approve in *Tristram Shandy* while reviling the mawkishness of *A Sentimental Journey*.

3. In place of "Sterne and the other novelists" I would name Fielding and Goldsmith alone. Smollett for example found little favor with the German men of letters.

Any discrepancy between my conclusions and those of the Wisconsin seminar is easily accounted for. My classification is based on the critical comments of the leading German men of letters and on cognizance of German works that seem to have been stimulated into existence by the example of English works. The Wisconsin conclusions, on the other hand, are founded in good measure on a far-flung survey of the leading German critical journals, a meticulous count of the number of references to individual authors and groups of authors, and an analysis of the nature of the comments. The Wisconsin study is based on evidence that cannot well be controverted, but what it demonstrates and defines is rather waves of general interest. Now, in a period of rapid literary development the public is laggard. By the time that an author, particularly a foreign author, becomes a person of interest to the educated public, he has often ceased to be a dynamic power operating on creative men of letters. The extent of public interest in any author is a matter of importance to the literary historian. Statistics regarding the number of translations and reprints, and how many thousand copies of works have been sold also throw light on this interesting question, but that is a line of investigation which I have felt compelled to forego for the most part in this study. I regard the two different analyses of the waves not as contradictory, but as supplementary to each other.

The German poets as well as the English, particularly those who were most important, were subject to development, and, to come back to the wave analogy, the tide was in a like direction. Gottsched and Bodmer began of equal mind, but coöoperation ceased when Bodmer progressed from Addison to Milton. Klopstock began on the crest of this second wave and later shared in the enthusiasm for Ossian. Wieland's interest in English literature spanned rationalism and sentimentalism and arrived at Shakespeare. For a short time Herder was enthusiastic over *Clarissa* but presently the Richardsonian heroes and heroines were too rationalistic for him and had to yield to Sophie La Roche's *Geschichte des Fräuleins von Sternheim* which was "not a book but a human heart." Simultaneously Herder admired the sentimental Goldsmith and Sterne and the original genius of Ossian and Shakespeare. Into such patterns may be fitted many of the facts which will be recorded in the following chapters.

Chapter IV

THE MORALIZING WEEKLIES

The rationalistic age evolved an optimistic system of philosophy, which included God and a perfect universe, and man—who, when duly enlightened, fitted himself into the harmony of that universe. God and the universe were at the outset the chief subjects of contemplation, but later the harmonious man came into purview, and a consistent attempt was made to stimulate his zeal in the work of his own perfection. In Germany the cosmologist Leibniz was followed by the popularizer Wolff, whose philosophy did not even scorn details of personal etiquette. Similarly Newton in England was accompanied by Locke and Shaftesbury, who were more interested in the sane well-balanced man than in cosmology. And then came Addison, who, in a less academic but more tactful and effective way than Wolff, spread the new doctrines regarding human betterment. Since it was assumed that man, as a reasonable being, needed only to be shown the better way, a missionary endeavor was in order. Addison was one of the first of the lay reformers in England. His vehicle was the moral essay. The didactic, philosophic poem was contemporary with it. The moral drama was the next vehicle in England, and it was succeeded by the moral novel of the Richardsonian type. German moral essays, didactic poems, plays, and novels plodded behind their English models, in like order, and it is convenient to study the genres in this sequence.

The moral philosophy of the English journals goes back to Locke and Shaftesbury. These papers looked upon nature in its totality and spoke of the wholesome effect of its impressions on man. They attacked the atheists and viewed God and morals rationally. While not pietistically puritanical, they held that good taste and good sense should prevail. They crusaded against carnivals, masked balls, modern dances, popular superstitions, astrology, and alchemy. They ridiculed affected manners and false assumptions in society, dealt with practical questions of education, interested themselves in broadening the outlook of woman, and preached the ideas of brotherhood and humanity. In short they popularized the entire creed of the age of enlightenment, and by emphasizing the equality of men in their natural state and protesting against artificial distinctions they foreshadowed the age of the revolution.

Nearly all the same might be said of the German moral journals, whose indebtedness to their English predecessors was admitted or rather proclaimed. Thomasius realized: "Wird die Gelahrtheit als ein geschlossen

Handwerk behandelt, so kann die Wahrheit ihre Zweige nicht weit austreiben," so he founded, 1688–1689, a journal which anticipated the *Spectator* by several years. It was unassumingly called *Scherz- und ernsthafte, vernünftige und einfältige Gedanken über allerhand lustige und nützliche Bücher und Fragen.* Its example was not followed, however, and it remained for the English journals to establish the mode.

Steele and Addison were not the first pioneers in the field of moral weeklies in England. That honor belongs rather to Defoe, whose *Weekly Review of the Affairs of France* had a section called "Mercure Scandale or Advice from the Scandalous Club." The *Athenian Gazette*, founded in 1690, also contained discussions of moral questions. These early journals, however, did not inspire imitation in Germany.

The *Tatler*, *Spectator*, and *Guardian* supplemented by the *Englishman* and the *Lover* spanned the period 1709–1715, all seeking to improve morals by dint of elevating taste. They brought up literature and manners as topics of conversation in place of horse-racing, cock-fighting, and other prevailing gentlemanly interests, and introduced into the common speech a simplicity and elegance rivaling that of the French of the time. Nearly three hundred journals of this kind continued to appear throughout the century in England. Johnson's *Rambler* and *Idler*, Hawkesworth's *Adventurer*, Edward Moore's *World*, Mackenzie's *Mirror*, Goldsmith's *Citizen of the World* and the *Freethinker* of Ambrose Philips and others, stood in good repute in England and all were translated into German,[1] though none of them equaled the *Spectator* in general esteem at home and abroad.

The movement had already exhausted its first force in England when a similar one began in Germany. The German weeklies surpassed the English in number though not in quality. The total number will never be known, but the usual estimate of five hundred may safely be doubled.[2] It is usually stated that Hamburg was first in the field, closely followed

[1] By Herzog, Bode, Gellius, Weisse, Mylius, and Wetzel; the *Tatler* was translated by Tietze, Price [136] entry no. 1016; see also Lessing, *Schriften*, VII, 60 f. and Price [136] entries no. 114, 470, 554 f., 687, 695.

[2] Kawczynski [306] listed about 500 for the eighteenth century. For Nuremberg he listed 14. The Nuremberg archives, however, contain at least 8 others. See Price [509]. Kawczynski's Strassburg list begins with *Der elsässische Patriot*, 1776, instead of with the *Sammler*, 1761. (The 1774 publication mentioned is hardly a moral journal.) His "Frankfurt and Leipzig" list needs revision since that indication on the title page often merely means that the books were sold at the Frankfurt and Leipzig "Messen." For Vienna Kawczynski lists 17. Zenker's list in *Die Journalistik Wiens*, 1891, more than doubles this number. One of the journals here mentioned, *Die Meinung der Babette*, lists more than a score that appeared within twelve months. See Richter *Geistesströmungen*, Berlin, 1875, 287. For Hamburg Kawczynski listed 48. Lippert in his *Giseke* . . ., Greifswald diss., 1915, says Hamburg had 99 up to 1799. In his *Lessing*, München, 1919, I 180, Oehlke says that 511 journals were founded between 1713 and 1761. Nicolai counts in his *Sebaldus Nothanker* 73 new journals founded in 1773. Any casual list such as that of Lachmanski in [311] contains many titles not found in Kawczynski.

by Zürich and Leipzig. This is, however, inexact. Hamburg, to be sure, led the way with its short-lived *Vernünfftler*, 1714[3] and *Die lustige Fama aus der närrischen Welt*, 1718, but next appeared Nuremberg with *Der Spectateur oder Betrachtungen über die verdorbenen Sitten der Welt*, 1719. In 1722 the Swiss cities then took up the movement: Zürich with the *Discourse der Mahlern*, conducted by Bodmer and Breitinger, and Bern with the *Discourse der neuen Gesellschaft*. Fifth in order came the earliest Leipzig papers, the *Diogenes* and the *Spectateur* of 1723, then the Hamburg *Patriot* of 1724.[4] The next year Gottsched joined with *Die vernünftigen Tadlerinnen* and Dresden with its *Socrates*. Göttingen and Berlin followed in 1732, the former with *Der Bürger*, and the latter with *Das moralische Fernglas*,[5] and Vienna not until three decades later.[6]

Leipzig probably had the largest number of moral weeklies. Then followed Hamburg, Berlin, Frankfurt, Nuremberg, Halle, Göttingen in approximately that order. Vienna, to be sure, would stand near the top if all the mediocre and worthless journals were counted. Certain other cities such as Munich, Stuttgart, Ulm, and Weimar barely appeared in the catalogue of titles. In general it may be said that North Germany rather than South Germany, Vienna excepted, and Protestant rather than Catholic Germany was the realm of the moral weekly.

A tendency toward specialization complicates the picture of German journalism during the period of enlightenment. Gottsched's first and most successful journal, *Die vernünftigen Tadlerinnnen*, 1725–1727, was addressed chiefly to women, his *Biedermann*, 1728–1735, chiefly to men. On the contrary, Sonnenfels, in Vienna, first directed his attention to men in *Der Vertraute*, 1764, and *Der Mann ohne Vorteil*, then to women in *Theresie und Eleonore* and *Das weibliche Orakel*, both of 1767. Between then and 1799 there were at least thirty-seven journals especially for women.[7]

Journals with a pedagogical tendency set in strongly in the 1770's. We find such titles as *Wochenblatt für rechtschaffene Eltern*, Nuremberg, 1777, *Wochenschrift zum besten der Erziehung der Jugend*, Stuttgart, 1771, and *Pädagogisches Museum*, Leipzig, 1777. In this same decade begin the journals for children, Adelung's *Leipziger Wochenblatt für Kinder*, 1772, among the first, followed by Weisse's *Kinderfreund*, 1775, which acknowledged a model in the *Journal des Adolescents* of Madame le Prince de

[3] Its editor Johann Mattheson described it as "ein teutscher Auszug aus den Engeländischen Moral-Schrifften des *Tatler* und *Spectator* mit etlichen Zugaben versehen und auf Ort und Zeit gerichtet." Copy formerly in the Hamburg Staats- und Universitäts-Bibliothek.

[4] Jacoby [309].

[5] Geiger [308]. Milberg and Kawczynski, following Beck, give 1730.

[6] H. Richter, *Geistesströmungen*, Berlin, 1875, 264–284.

[7] Lachmanski [311].

Beaumont. There was a flood of such journals in Austria, and in Germany there were at least thirteen between 1775 and 1789.

With such competition it was natural that moral weeklies of general appeal should suffer, and the most wretched journals appear toward the end of the period, often faintly concealing their ignominy beneath jaunty or self-ironical titles such as *Die Lärmkanone abgefeuert von Hans Konstabel* and *Die Berliner Peitsche geschwungen von Hans von Strippeknall*, both *fin de siècle* journals of Berlin. Hamburg produced in 1799 *Literarischer Schnupftabak für allerley Nasen von Fabricius Nasenfreund, sechs Dosen voll*, while Vienna exhibits such titles as *Der hungrige Gelehrte, Der Arme, Der Spaßvogel, Lies mich oder ich fresse dich*, and *Leben und Taten Klas Tastenfinks genannt des Schlenderers*. On the flyleaves of some of these journals are advertisements of others of which no trace exists. No census can ever be undertaken for there is no common denominator. Not all the journals were weeklies. Some appeared biweekly, monthly, or occasionally. Not all journals were satirical and not all were moral but in general the satirical-moral tone was preserved.

This unwieldy mass of material cannot be disregarded. True, little of literary value ever appeared in it, though here and there one may find an original poem by a true poet such as Lenz. Yet the moral journals, supplementing the contemporary literary organs, provide an abundant untapped source of literary history, and the gradual acceptance of this or that foreign author by the masses may be traced in their pages. Several systematic digests of the moral weeklies city by city should pave the way for a more comprehensive study and prevent misleading generalities. Only the better and more influential journals require our attention here.

As might be expected, the earliest German journals were most dependent upon the *Spectator* for their regular material. This is particularly true of *Der Vernünfftler, Die Discourse der Mahlern*, and *Die vernünftigen Tadlerinnen*, though not of *Der Patriot*. The translation of the *Spectator*, 1739–1743, and of the *Guardian*, 1749, by Frau Gottsched made necessary a more active quest for original material. The early moral weeklies had depended rather on the French *Spectateur* of 1714, in which 214 numbers of the original were lacking or incomplete. Even down to the latest period the German journals drew upon the successors of the *Spectateur* unstintingly. Nonsectarian religious discussions together with disquisitions on moral problems and proper upbringing of the young made up the major part of the borrowings.[8] Items of natural science were sometimes included but these were exceptional.

The journals were convinced that the proper study of mankind is man.

[8] Umbach [313] 38 ff.

Their pages were filled with anthropological and historical lore, with anecdotes of well-known men, discussions of human merits and foibles, and advice regarding the conduct of life. Many contemporaries were quoted in the texts or in couplets at the beginning of the essays. Among the most frequently quoted authors are Voltaire, Pope, Addison, Young, Haller, and Gellert. The early numbers of Gottsched's *Die vernünftigen Tadlerinnen*, 1725–1729, were made up in large part of borrowings from contemporaries and predecessors. Thomasius was drawn upon for ideas regarding manners, imitation of the French, and the misuse of the word "galant," the French *Spectateur* for "pensées libres sur la religion," and there are many long passages that parallel the English *Spectator*, which is no doubt the source of Gottsched's information regarding Locke's life. Other passages coincide at once with pages from the *Discourse der Mahlern* and the Hamburg *Patriot*. The borrowings were noted by editors in other cities and were admitted by Gottsched in an early number of the *Tadlerinnen* with a humor that was rare for him. Certain stylistic manoeuvers of the English journals were also adopted by Gottsched, such as the formulation of statutes for mythical societies and the reproduction of letters real or fabricated.

Ever welcome and useful items were the "characters" in which the *Tatler* and the *Spectator* rivaled La Rochefoucauld, La Bruyère, and all other French and English predecessors. Sometimes these character descriptions were merely translated into German, sometimes they were adapted, and again new characters were invented and described according to a similar moralizing plan. In one of the early numbers of his first journal, *Der Vertraute*, 1764, Sonnenfels borrowed from the *Spectator* the tale of an elderly dandy who came to grief in his amours with a young beauty. A townsman protested in court against the journal, declaring that the story was directed against none other than himself, and although Sonnenfels was able to cite volume and page of the *Spectator* as his sole model the brief existence of the journal was ended by the censor.[9] Sonnenfels would have been interested to know that a similar misfortune had befallen the Hamburg *Vernünfftler* of 1714, the first German attempt to translate the *Spectator*.[10]

Often the English journals made their characters the participants in complications of human life and thus produced novels in miniature. For the most part the characters and scenes of everyday life were depicted. The *Spectator* drew to some extent upon the *Arabian Nights* for its tales. Later journalists, notably Hawkesworth in his *Adventurer*, added to the stock. These tales were circulated through the German weeklies, some of

[9] Sonnenfels, *Gesammelte Schriften*, Wien, 1783–1787, I vi ff.
[10] See fn. 3, above.

them even as separate publications, and they served as a storehouse for the poets.

Goethe called Gellert's *Schriften* "das Fundament der deutschen sittlichen Kultur,"[11] and when Umbach called Gellert "die Summe der moralischen Wochenschriften,"[12] he said little else, for behind both was the ethical system of Shaftesbury and Hutcheson.

At this point it is in order to distinguish, as the eighteenth century could not, between the contributions of Addison and Steele. The *Discourse der Mahlern* gave more credit to Steele but relied more heavily upon the serious essays of Addison than upon the lighter essays, anecdotes, and tales of Steele. In all, sixty-five essays from the journals of Addison and Steele are involved,[13] but Steele's contributions were drawn upon only nine times. Gellert on the other hand frequently praised Addison, but drew upon Steele more heavily for his "Erzählungen." Gellert listed as his source simply the *Spectator*. In terms of authorship the indebtedness was as follows: to Addison he owed the subject matter for "Das Schicksal," "Rynholt und Lucia," and "Die beiden Schwarzen;" he was indebted to Steele for "Inkle und Yariko," "Das neue Ehepaar," "Der Hochzeitstag," "Calliste," and in part "Der Lügner." Hagedorn owed his "Der Sultan und sein Vizier Azem" in part to the *Spectator* and "Apollo und Minerva" to *Common Sense or the Englishman's Journal*.[14] Wieland acknowledged Steele and Addison as the source for his Erzählungen "Serena" and "Balsora."[15]

Steele made an impression on Germany only through his journals. His comedies, to be sure, were translated into German by Christian Heinrich Schmid in 1767 but for the library rather than for the stage. *The Conscious Lovers* was translated by "Geandern von der Oberelbe" (Muldener) in 1752, and under the title *Indiane* adapted for the stage by W. Thomson.[16] Kies has tried to establish a connection between *The Conscious Lovers* and Lessing's *Der Freygeist*,[17] and Sonnenfels tentatively suggested a connection between *The Tender Husband* and Brandes' play *Der Schein betrügt*.[18] The important fact, however, is that the sentimental comedy came into Germany by way of France rather than England.

[11] Goethe, *Werke*, I (27) 128.
[12] Umbach [313] 80.
[13] Albert Richards. An unpublished essay on Steele in German literature.
[14] Hagedorn, *Werke* II viii.
[15] "Ich habe gar wenig Erfindungskraft; *Balsora* gehört Hn. Addison . . . *Serena* größtenteils dem Verfasser des *Tattler*." Wieland to Bodmer, July 14, 1745. Wieland, *Briefe*, I 95. Cf. Fresenius [617] 521 f. "*Balsora* is from the *Guardian*, no. 176, however, not, as Wieland incorrectly indicates in his edition of 1762, from the *Spectator*. Cf. p. 82, below.
[16] Price [168].
[17] Kies [264].
[18] Sonnenfels, *Briefe über die wienerische Schaubühne* in Wiener Neudruck VII (1882) 263.

Of all the tales in the *Spectator* none received a wider circulation throughout England, France, Switzerland, and Germany than Steele's account of Inkle and Yarico (*Spectator*, No. 11), the story of the Indian princess who protected the shipwrecked Englishman from her tribe, cared for him and fed him, and believed in his promises to her, only to be cruelly undeceived when a rescue ship carried the pair to Barbados, where Inkle sold Yarico and her unborn son into slavery. Gellert wrote a concise, Bodmer a long-winded poem on the subject, and Gessner a narrative with a happy ending. Four German dramatists made the tale the theme of a tragedy, four of a "Singspiel," and several others of a ballet.[19] Had Goethe carried out his plan to dramatize the subject,[20] it would no doubt be today as well known an incident as that of Werther and Lotte.

The most salutary effect of the *Spectator* in Germany was on the prose style. Addison had acquired his easy and unaffected elegance from the ancients and the French. He rarely preached good style in his journals but trusted to the power of example. The German imitators declare their intent in advance and claim the sanction of the *Spectator*. In the introduction to the second volume of her translation of the *Spectator* Frau Gottsched wrote:

Unser Wunsch ist allerhand Arten von Leuten zu gefallen und ihnen durch keine seltsame und eigensinnige Schreibart anstößig zu werden, sondern sie vielmehr durch einen zwar reinen aber auch gewöhnlichen und bekannten Ausdruck anzureizen. Addison und Steele haben sich als Meister in allen Schreibarten gezeigt, so daß man seine eigene wohl nach ihnen einrichten könne.

The Hamburg *Patriot* also lauds the Addisonian style. The editor professes to have once visited the *Spectator* in England and asserts "daß seine Schriften vornehmlich die Ursache der Vollkommenheit sind, die die englische Sprache erlangt hat."[21]

When Gellert was asked to what he attributed his good taste he mentioned especially Cicero and Addison and the association with his friends of the *Bremer Beyträge*.[22] Lessing says that his cousin Mylius never sat down to write a page of his journal, *Der Freygeist*, 1745, without first reading a few essays from the *Spectator*.[23]

The German weeklies joined with the English predecessors in the crusade against unnatural forms of poetry and writing, against acrostics,

[19] Price [573].
[20] Goethe, *Werke*, IV (1) 79.
[21] *Loc. cit.*, Stück 20.
[22] J. A. Cramer, "Christian Fürchtegott Gellerts Leben" in Gellert's *Sämmtliche Schriften*, Leipzig, 1784, X 34.
[23] Lessing, *Schriften*, VI 400.

puns, and plays on words. They were confronted with one task unknown to the English editors, the purification of the language from foreign words. The *Patriot* of Hamburg led the reform saying:

Ich habe einen anderen Nutzen gesuchet, nemlich den Geschmack meiner Landsleute in der Sprache und Schreib-Art zu verbessern. . . . Ein Teutscher muß ietzund Französisch, Lateinisch und Italiänisch verstehen, um ein Buch in seiner Mutter-Sprache lesen zu können. Ich habe mich aber auf alle Weise bestrebt, durch eine sorgfältige Reinlichkeit und edle, ungekünstelte Einförmigkeit diesen verwehnten Geschmack zu bessern.[24]

In his *Discourse der Mahlern* Bodmer had criticized the diction of the Leipzig *Spectateur* but the *Discourse* was itself one of the worst offenders in respect to the use of foreign words. Nor is this remarkable when we remember that, of Bodmer's intimate circle of friends, Heinrich Meister and Zellweger both wrote French only, and their contributions to the *Discourse der Mahlern* had to be translated into German. Bodmer's journal was attacked for its impure German by the *Patriot* and other weeklies. In its twenty-third number it criticized its own previous style, suggested betterments, and improved from that time on. The average number of foreign words per page in the first twenty-two numbers was fifteen, thereafter four.[25]

It has been said, and not without cause, that the success of the German literary journals tended to relegate the moral weeklies to a place of secondary importance after the middle of the eighteenth century. There was a transitional period during which the best-known journals were partly literary and partly moralizing. This can be well illustrated in connection with the development of journalism in Leipzig. Gottsched's second journal *Der Biedermann* was rather more serious than its predecessor. In it works of literature were often discussed directly. Swift comes into some prominence, his *Gulliver's Travels* being explicitly commended. A German translation is offered of an extract from the French version which was just appearing, and there is also in it a specimen of Georg Christian Wolf's translation of *The Tale of a Tub. Die Belustigungen des Verstandes und des Witzes* was inspired by Gottsched but directed by Schwabe. It owed its name to a French predecessor, the *Nouveaux amusements de l'esprit et du coeur*, 1737. Its introduction claims French and English models, but of the latter only the *Intelligencer* has been identified.[26] A certain English flavor in this journal is acquired in part by the use of English place names. There are not a few translations and

[24] *Loc. cit.*, Stück 156.
[25] Umbach [313] 31 f.
[26] Karl Kühne, *Studien über den Moral-Satiriker G. W. Rabener*, Berlin, diss. 1914, 20.

imitations of English authors, and the anti-Swiss satire, *Der deutsche Dichterkrieg,* is based on Pope's *Dunciad.*

Because of Schwabe's persistence in such polemics his younger confederates left him and founded the *Neue Beyträge zum Vergnügen des Verstandes und des Witzes,* 1745–1748, usually called the *Bremer Beyträge.* The contributors were chiefly Gellert and certain young Leipzig students, Klopstock, Ebert, Rabener, Zachariä, K. A. Schmidt, Johann Elias Schlegel and his brother Johann Adolf, Mylius, Giseke, and Gärtner. The editors showed a marked interest in English literature. New authors, Prior, Glover, and Thomson were introduced by the *Beyträge* and its successor, the *Sammlung vermischter Schriften.* Rabener, in his contributions, owes much to the *Spectator* and to Swift. As he knew no English at all, he was limited to those authors whose works had appeared in French or German translation, that is to say, chiefly Addison, Pope, Swift, Milton and Young. The "Bremer Beyträger" introduced one innovation into German journalism. Basing their organization on the Scriblerus club, of which Pope and Swift were members, they met in a coffee house in Leipzig and discussed and amended deliberately the contributions offered, which, if finally accepted, were unsigned and given out as the joint product of the group. In Switzerland the *Gesellschaft der Mahlern* had already organized itself similarly.

The extent of the influence of the English weeklies can best be estimated by a broad view of the whole literary history of the first half of the eighteenth century in Germany. Before the classic literature could develop the German language had to be bettered in many respects. The necessary trend toward a pure, clear, and simple style began under the banner of French pseudoclassicism, but was strengthened by the example of the English weeklies. A particularly serious misfortune in Germany at the beginning of the eighteenth century was the lack of a common culture. The Renaissance had caused a rift between the classically trained scholar and the uneducated mass. Opitz had tried in vain to bridge the gulf. The Thirty Years' War had remedied the disparity only in so far as it leveled downwards. When Gottsched, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, renewed the effort, his task was a difficult one. The people read little, and satisfied their literary cravings by marvelling at the rude plays of wandering players. Men of culture could find pleasure only in the French or Latin literature and drama. It was then that the moral weeklies provided a common meeting ground. They were substantial enough for the enlightened, not too deep for the uneducated, and therefore enjoyed by both. Most of the thousand journals reached only a small local public, but the Hamburg *Patriot* had over four thousand sub-

scribers in Hamburg and elsewhere. Of Gottsched's *Die vernünftigen Tadlerinnen* two thousand copies were printed weekly at six pfennig each. One correspondent wrote to say that every copy was read by at least six persons. For Gottsched in Leipzig and for his confederates in Hamburg and Zürich, Addison was the man of the hour, even though none of them acquired the easy manner of the master, but wrote stiffly, pedagogically, and condescendingly to an unresenting public.

Again the moral journals gave young men, and for the first time women, their best opportunity to win their literary spurs. Frau Gottsched, of course, was in a favored position from the first, and used it to good advantage. While at work on her translation of the *Spectator*, she received a letter from a stranger asking advice regarding marriage with a man below her rank. She gave the answer in the form of a play, *Die ungleiche Heirat*, 1742. Other moral plays by Frau Gottsched were *Die Hausfranzösinn*, 1744, and *Das Testament*, 1745. Thus, like Addison, she supported moral essays by moral plays. Women were from the first encouraged by editors to send their ideas and even their poems to the journals, and a rather complete chain of development may be traced from these timid beginnings to the moral novels of, let us say, Sophie La Roche at the end of the century.

In view of the great esteem in which he was held in Germany it was fortunate that Addison was so liberal a critic and that he had taken occasion to express so emphatically his admiration for Milton and Shakespeare and even for popular poetry. Addison, with Pope and other men of wise restraint, common sense, and good taste make up the first wave of English influence in Germany in the eighteenth century. The laudatory essay on Milton opened the way to the second wave, in which the marvellous secured its recognition. The frequent references to Shakespeare aroused first curiosity, then enthusiasm, while Herder was able to claim Addison's sanction in his campaign in behalf of the poetry of the uneducated. Thus the arrival of the third wave was signalized. In short, the English weeklies played a pioneer role in the advance of English literature into Germany in the eighteenth century.

Chapter V

POPE AND PHILOSOPHIC POETRY

While Addison was trying to interpret Shaftesbury and the moralists for the nonlearned, Pope was expressing their ideas in neatly rhymed couplets that failed to win the praise of the philosophers of the time. His *Essay on Man* has early and late been adjudged by the stricter critics a hodge-podge of incompatible philosophies. After the *Essay on Criticism*, 1711, *The Rape of the Lock*, 1712, and *Windsor Forest*, 1713, Pope reluctantly devoted twelve years to translating Homer and editing Shakespeare. Then followed the satirical *Dunciad*, 1728, and the *Essay on Man*, 1733, with which his reputation in Germany seems to have begun. Voltaire, who during his visits to London, 1726–1729, had conversed with Pope, spoke highly of him in the *Lettres philosophiques sur les Anglais*, 1734, which were much read in Germany as well as in France. Before this date there is no certain sign that Pope had made his impress upon any author in Germany.

There is no evidence even that Pope appealed strongly either to Hagedorn or to Haller during their sojourns in London. In his *Tagebücher seiner Reisen nach Deutschland, Holland und England 1723–1727* Haller mentions Addison, Butler, Rochester, and Swift,[1] but not Pope. In a later "Tagebuch" entry, to be sure, he commends Pope as "der meist harmonische aller heutigen Dichter" and the one who has "die angenehmste und feinste Empfindung,"[2] and in the introduction to the French translation of his own poems, 1750, he said: "Pope hat in seinen Gaben, auch sogar in seinem Grundrisse, Schönheiten, die ohne Rücksicht auf die Harmonie, in der er alle englischen Dichter übertroffen, Schönheiten für alle Völker und Zeiten sind."

Haller, however, nowhere specifically mentions Pope or any other English poet as his model. In the preface to the fourth edition of his poems, 1748, he wrote:

> Ich hatte indessen die englischen Dichter mir bekannter gemacht und von denselben die Liebe zum Denken, und den Vorzug der schweren Dichtkunst angenommen. Die philosophischen Dichter, deren Größe ich bewunderte, verdrangen bald bey mir das geblähte und aufgedunsene Wesen des Lohensteins, der auf Metaphoren wie auf leichten Blasen schwimmt.

It was formerly asserted that Pope influenced Haller's *Die Alpen* and

[1] *Op. cit.*, ed. Hirzel, Leipzig, 1883, 133.
[2] Haller, *Tagebuch*, II 75, under date of 1777.

Über den Ursprung des Übels,[3] but the *Essay on Man* is the sole work of Pope comparable to Haller's poems, and *Die Alpen* was published in 1729, four years before Pope's *Essay* was finished, while *Über den Ursprung des Übels* was well begun before Pope's *Essay* was completed. In his apology for *Die Alpen* Haller says that it still betrays the influence of Lohenstein. The philosophical poems which followed it, *Gedanken über Vernunft, Aberglauben und Unglauben*, 1729, and *Die Falschheit menschlicher Tugenden*, 1730, were written specifically to demonstrate to his friends in Basel "daß die deutsche Sprache keinen Antheil an dem Mangel philosophischer Dichter hätte."[4] But even in connection with these poems Haller makes no specific reference to Pope. His earliest reference is in a letter to Stähelin in 1734, written at a time when his *Über den Ursprung des Übels* was nearly completed. This poem characterized man (II, 107), to be sure, as "zweideutig Mittelding von Engeln und von Vieh," reminding of Pope's ironic couplet:

> What would this man? now upward will he soar
> And little less than angels would be more.

But obviously this is a "Selbstanleihe" from his earlier *Gedanken über Vernunft, Aberglauben und Unglauben*, wherein he had characterized man (verse 17) as "unselig Mittelding von Engeln und von Vieh," and this was finished before Pope's *Essay on Man* had appeared. Haller himself expressly denied that in the composition of *Über den Ursprung des Übels* he had profited by Pope's *Essay on Man*.[5] Perhaps both poets derived the lines just quoted directly from Augustine who says: "Vita hominum media est inter angelorum et pecorum"[6] and parallel passages prove little when we have to do with two poets both trying to formulate in verse the prevailing philosophies of their time. Or to choose another example, Shaftesbury in his *Inquiry Concerning Virtue or Merit*, 1699, had commended the man in whom the selfish and altruistic motives were duly paired and harmonized like strings in a well-made violin. Haller merely condoned the selfish motive, saying (II, 113 f. and 137 f.):

> Die eine niedriger, doch damals ohne Schuld
> Ist der fruchtbare Quell, von Arbeit und Geduld;
> . . . . . .
> Viel edler ist der Trieb, der uns für andre rühret
> Von Himmel kommt sein Brand, der keinen Rauch gebieret,

[3] Koch [141], Flindt [143], Maack [494]; F. J. Schneider in *Die deutsche Dichtung vom Ausgang des Barocks* . . ., Stuttgart, 1924, 36 still calls Haller "der deutsche Pope."

[4] Haller, *Gedichte*, 43, 61.

[5] *Ibid.*, 44; cf. 43, 61, and 118 f.

[6] Augustine, *Tractat in Johanneum* XVIII c. 7. Cf. Ischer, *Albrecht von Haller und das klassische Altertum*, Sprache und Dichtung, Bern, 1928, XLI 115.

while the satirical Pope took the third course and regarded the selfish string as the important one that made for human progress. Haller later condemned this tenet, saying: "Pope in seinem *Versuche über den Menschen* verdeckt unter angenehmen Blumen ein gefährliches Gift."[7]

A further probable direct or indirect source of Haller's poem on the origin of evil was William King's similarly named work, *De Origine Mali*, 1702. Leibniz had referred to this treatise in his *Essais de Théodicée sur la bonté de Dieu, la liberté de l'homme et l'origine du mal*, specifically agreeing with King that physical evil in the universe was only a human illusion. Lessing and Mendelssohn in their essay *Pope ein Metaphysiker!*, pointed out that several of Pope's best passages are poetic paraphrases of Leibniz, Shaftesbury, and King.[8] Thus many apparent parallels between Haller and Pope may readily be accounted for by a common source.

King, Leibniz, Newton, Shaftesbury, Pope, and Haller were all agreed on the subject of the essential harmony of the universe, but Newton disagreed with Leibniz in one respect. Leibniz regarded the universe as a mechanism that, once completed, continued to run perfectly without the interposition of the creator's hand, while Newton believed in God's merciful interposition or special providence. John Clarke supported Newton with an *Enquiry into the Cause of the Origin of Evil*, 1720. A correspondence ensued between Clarke and Leibniz which was published and edited by Desmaizeaux, who seems to have been Haller's adviser during his stay in England. Haller (II, 65 ff.) agreed with Newton and Clarke rather than with Leibniz.

> Drum überließ auch Gott die Geister ihrem Willen
> Und dem Zusammenhang, woraus die Thaten quillen,
> Doch so, daß seine Hand der Welten Steuer behielt,
> Und der Natur ihr Rad muß stehen, wann er befiehlt.

More important was Shaftesbury. It was he who brought into prominence the concept of man's moral sense or conscience, and we know that Stähelin, in 1732, lent Haller a copy of Shaftesbury. This may help to account for certain lines in *Über den Ursprung des Übels* such as II, 179 ff.:

> Weit nötiger liegt noch, im Innersten von uns,
> Der Werke Richterin, der Probstein unser Thuns:
> Vom Himmel stammt ihr Recht; er hat in dem Gewissen
> Die Pflichten der Natur den Menschen vorgerissen.

and again, II, 209 ff.:

> Die Kraft von Blut und Recht erkennen die Huronen,
> Die dort an Mitschigans beschneiten Ufern wohnen,

[7] GGA, 1746, 551. Cf. Haller, *Tagebuch* II 191.
[8] Lessing, *Schriften*, VI 438–445. Cf. Jones [246] and Price [247].

> Und unterm braunen Süd' fühlt auch der Hottentott
> Die allgemeine Pflicht und der Natur Gebot.

Certainly this conviction suggests Shaftesbury rather than Pope, though in most respects the pietistic, often melancholy, Haller was far removed from both. The form of the poem, to be sure, is suggestive of Pope. So it is difficult to find in the works of any single author the model for this poem and its immediate predecessors and we may well be content with Haller's vague statement that he was emulating "die englischen philosophischen Dichter," but in this endeavor he conceded the priority to Hagedorn. In his well-known letter to Gemmingen he wrote:

> Der Hr. von Hagedorn besuchte Engelland, ich auch, und noch etwas früher. Die Reise hatte auf beyde einen wichtigen Einfluß: Wir fühlten, daß man in wenigen Wörtern weit mehr sagen konnte, als man in Deutschland bis hieher gesagt hatte; wir sahen, daß philosophische Begriffe und Anmerkungen sich reimen ließen, und strebten beyde nach einer Stärke, dazu wir noch keine Urbilder gehabt hatten. Sehr jung machte sich Hr. von Hagedorn mit seinen Poesien bekannt, ich um etwas später.[9]

Hagedorn's relation to Pope is less problematical than Haller's. Like Haller and Brockes he fell in his youth under the spell of the ornate Silesian poets. In a letter to Bodmer, 1753, he states that Hofmannswaldau was one of his favorite poets,[10] and his *Schreiben der Kleopatra an den Caesar* remains to confirm this admission, for, to his later regret, Hagedorn, unlike Haller, was led to publish instead of burn his youthful poems. During his two London years, 1729–1731, he must surely have known of Pope, and after his return he retained his interest in English literary affairs. It seems probable then that he would have known of Du Resnel's purported translation of the *Essay on Man* into French, 1737, as well as of the attack of the Swiss critic Crousaz, upon the Leibnizian ideas contained therein (*Commentaire sur la traduction en vers de M. l'abbé du Resnel de l'Essai de M. Pope*, 1738) and of the ensuing controversy, in the course of which it first developed that many of the ideas attacked were Du Resnel's own rather than Pope's. Still Pope was placed to some extent on the defensive and to prove his orthodoxy he wrote in 1738 his "Universal Prayer."

In Hamburg Pope found two allies. One of them was Brockes, who published in 1740 his translation of the *Essay on Man*. In a letter to Bodmer, December 1, 1739, Hagedorn makes two favorable comments on this forthcoming work. First he says: "Hr. Brockes hat sich viele Mühe gegeben, seine Übersetzung dogmatisch zu machen,"[11] which means apparently to render it acceptable to the defenders of orthodoxy.

[9] Cf. Haller, *Gedichte*, 398.
[10] "Ungedruckte Briefe," Zürich Univ. Bibl. Hagedorn to Bodmer, May 19, 1753.
[11] Hagedorn, *Werke*, V 16 f.

To this end, he adds, Brockes allowed himself more freedom in versification than in his translation of Marino's *Strage degli innocenti*. A harsher critic would have said "more licence." The second defender was Hagedorn himself, who published in 1742 a translation of Pope's "Universal Prayer," changing the dangerously liberal "Jehovah, Jove or Lord," to the more dogmatic "Gott, dem alle Götter weichen."[12]

Hagedorn candidly admitted that he made this change to avoid "einiger Gottesgelehrten gewissen Widerspruch."[13] Two chief poems of the preceding years, "Der Gelehrte," 1740, and "Der Weise," 1741,[14] are somewhat reminiscent of Pope, but the conscientious Hagedorn mentions only classic and French authors in his footnotes, and furthermore the distinction he makes between "Der Weise" and "Der Gelehrte" suggests of all English authors, most readily Shaftesbury. The greater part of the poem "Die Glückseligkeit," 1743,[15] seems to be based upon Pope, especially upon the fourth letter of the *Essay on Man* and upon the third and fourth letters of the *Moral Essays*,[16] but thereafter Hagedorn becomes more and more independent of Pope. When, in his versified "Schreiben an einen Freund," 1747, he wishes not to be learned but only to possess "den glücklichen Geschmack, die Tugend schön zu finden,"[17] he seems to be harking back to Shaftesbury. For other concisely expressed sentiments he no doubt owes a certain debt to Thomson. Hagedorn's poem "Die Freundschaft," 1748, seems to owe its origin to Pope whose letter to H. Cromwell is mentioned in the first footnote.[18] Letter and poem begin with a reference to Ulysses's faithful dog.[19] Hagedorn's reference to self-love is also reminiscent of Pope but, to be sure, of Shaftesbury as well:

> Die Liebe zu uns selbst, allein die weise nur,
> Ist freylich unsere Pflicht, die Stimme der Natur.[20]

for Pope had said:

> Two principles in human nature reign;
> Self love, to urge, and reason, to restrain.[21]

Hagedorn's own footnotes serve to remind us that Horace and the classical poets are ever-probable sources of his inspiration.

Hagedorn's "Schreiben an einen Freund," 1752, defines his ultimate adjustment to Pope. Hagedorn commends Pope as an authority on good

[12] *Ibid.*, I 3.
[13] *Ibid.*, V 116.
[14] *Ibid.*, I 79 ff. and 15 ff.
[15] *Ibid.*, I 19 ff.
[16] Cf. Frick [500] 7–12.
[17] Hagedorn, *Werke* 1 41.
[18] Coffman [243] 90. Cf. Meinhold [242] 163.
[19] Hagedorn, *Werke* I 57.
[20] *Ibid.*, I 62.
[21] Pope, *Essay on Man* Ep. II, 53 f.

style in letter writing[22] and also as one who knows how to borrow from other authors to best advantage.[23] He quotes two such instances in Pope's *Essay on Criticism* and provides one of his own. Hagedorn quotes from Pope's *Observations on Homer:* "It is generally the fate of such people who will never say what was said before, to say what never will be said after them," which cumbersome remark he immediately turns into a compact Popelike couplet.

> Wer nimmer sagen will, was man zuvorgesagt,
> Der wagt, dies ist sein Loos, was niemand nach ihm wagt.[24]

He quotes Pope in defense of the imitation of the ancients: "They who say our thoughts are not our own because they resemble the ancients', may as well say our faces are not our own because they are like our fathers'!"[25] From all of this it may be inferred that Hagedorn found to his liking Pope's poetry and his theory and method of imitation: "Man sollte nachahmen wie Boileau und Lafontaine nachgeahmt haben. Jener pflegte davon zu sagen: 'Cela ne s'appelle pas imiter; c'est joûter contre son original,' "[26] and Pope, said Hagedorn, was an excellent tilter, "so gar seine Nachahmungen aus dem Horaz sind meisterhafte, freie Originale. Er ist ein Muster der besten Nacheiferung."[27] In short, Hagedorn and Pope were two poets of rather similar literary tastes with similar ideas on the art of writing. Sometimes Hagedorn indulged in poetic jousts with Pope and sometimes he joined with him and other classicists in sportive jousts with Latin and other poets, but remained withal his superficial self. In the poem beginning, "Horaz, mein Freund und mein Begleiter," he admitted the only deep indebtedness of which he was aware.[28]

It should be added that Hagedorn was not only the first German imitator of Pope's sharply pointed style but also the most consistent observer of his verse technique. As Haller wrote in 1772: "Mit dem Pope hat er eine große Ähnlichkeit in der feinen Auspolirung der Verse, worinn wenige auch seit unsern Zeiten es Hagedorn nachgethan haben."[29] In "Der Gelehrte," 1740, and "Der Weise," 1741, Hagedorn introduced the heroic couplet at the end of each stanza. His "Allgemeines Gebet" of two years later registers, oddly enough, a falling away from Pope in respect to form. The unfortunate example of Brockes may account for this.[30] His "Glückseligkeit," 1743, follows Pope closely in its argument, and approaches him in form as well. Here iambic hexameter is used throughout and the poem is full of antitheses, epigrammatic lines, and

[22] Hagedorn, *Werke*, I xxvi.
[23] *Ibid.*, I xxx.
[24] *Ibid.*, I xxxii.
[25] *Ibid.*, I xxxi.
[26] *Ibid.*, I xviii.
[27] *Ibid.*, I 97.
[28] Coffman [243] 506 and [244].
[29] Haller, *Gedichte*, p. 401.
[30] Cf. p. 64, above.

line pairs.[31] "Der Schwätzer," 1744, "Schreiben an einen Freund," 1747, and "Die Freundschaft," 1748, are also written in hexameters and in couplets. With the heroic couplet and with the iambic pentameter in general Hagedorn experimented, though rather sparingly, in his *Epigrammatische Gedichte*. The "Schriftmäßige Betrachtungen über einige Eigenschaften Gottes," 1744, is written in iambic tetrameters with chiefly end-stopped lines, producing a result resembling closely Pope's "Universal Prayer." Finally, in 1751, Hagedorn wrote his "Horaz" in the heroic couplet exclusively. Or to put it otherwise, during the years of his partial apprenticeship to Pope he became less and less dependent on his master for themes, ideas, and arguments, but approached him constantly in respect to polish and technique.

Brockes's relation to English poetry is much like Haller's. It is evident that English poets influenced him, but uncertain just which ones. Until the time of his return from Italy he had written after the manner of the later Silesians, and of all works of Italian literature he had chosen precisely Marino's *Strage degli innocenti* for translation, 1715; but after his return to Hamburg he associated with members of the local "teutschübende Gesellschaft," who were opposed to all affectation, and one of the members, Richey, parodied Brockes's bombastic style. The society was consciously turning to England for models.[32] Brockes's friend Triewald was an admirer of Cowley. Milton was likewise in the foreground at the time. The *Spectator* and the *Guardian* were also read, and no doubt the early works of Pope as well. Pastorals were in especial favor, and Brockes's "Das Wasser im Frühling" toward the beginning of his *Irdisches Vergnügen in Gott* is a little like Pope's "Spring" (v. 17 ff.), but not strikingly so.[33] Since Brockes published his translation of the *Essay on Man* in 1740, one may look for resemblances of that poem in his *Neujahrsgedichte*, 1739. In it he takes up the question of the justification of apparent evil and answers it with Pope in the light of reason, but with Brockes, as with Haller, Shaftesbury may have played a role, and other deists as well.[34] An influence of Derham's *Physicotheologie*, 1713, and *Astrotheologie*, 1714, is to be suspected. These works were translated into German by Fabricius and published in Hamburg, 1728, under the titles *Physico-Theologie oder Naturleitung zu Gott* and *Astro-Theologie oder Himmlisches Vergnügen in Gott*.[35]

As for Brockes's translation of the *Essay on Man* it was neither poetic

[31] Coffman [243] 504.
[32] Brandl, A. *B. H. Brockes* . . ., Innsbruck, 1878, 34 f.
[33] Despite Maack [494] 3. His best parallel is Brockes, *Irdisches Vergnügen in Gott*, Hamburg, 1744, 289 and Pope, *Essay on Man*, Ep. III 7–8 and 25.
[34] Cf. p. 63 f., above.
[35] Brandl, A. *B. H. Brockes* . . ., p. x and Behn-Cierpa [198].

nor close. His eight-foot line gave not only room enough but too much, and necessitated flabby padding. The result distorted both the sense and the form of the original. The production was accompanied by Zinck's translation of Warburton's defense of Pope against the attacks of Crousaz.

After the failure of Brockes it was thought impossible to render the "essay" into German verse. In 1741, an anonymous prose translation appeared in Frankfurt. In 1745 Mylius began a serial translation for his *Hällische Bemühungen*,[36] and in 1761 Dusch included a similar one in his complete translation of Pope's works.[37] It was this which evoked the sharp criticism of Lessing.

> Einen Dichter, dessen großes, ich will nicht sagen größtes, Verdienst in dem war, was wir das Mechanische der Poesie nennen; dessen ganze Mühe dahin ging, den reichsten triftigsten Sinn in die wenigsten, wohlklingendsten Worte zu legen; dem der Reim keine Kleinigkeit war—einen solchen Dichter in Prosa zu übersetzen, heißt ihn ärger entstellen, als man den Euklides entstellen würde, wenn man ihn in Verse übersetzte.[38]

Yet the very next year J. G. Schlosser, later the brother-in-law of Goethe, began an *Anti-Pope*, to which he appended a prose translation of the *Essay on Man*. But in general after 1750 verse translation prevailed. All manner of experiments were carried out in hexameters, blank verse, alexandrines, free iambics, and lines of varied length. The blank-verse translation of Broxtermann, 1798, has been variously estimated, while the rhymed version of Bothe in verses of varied length has been commended by more than one critic as the best of the century.[39]

The "Originalgenies" paid little heed to Pope, though to be sure Lenz in his youth sought in vain a publisher for his translation of the *Essay on Man*. Herder, Goethe, and Schiller penetrated back of Pope to Shaftesbury. In a letter of May 1, 1797, Schiller linked Wieland with Voltaire and Pope, calling them "bereit und witzig," but not really poets. "Er [Pope] gehört in die löbliche Zeit, wo man die Werke des Witzes und des poetischen Genies für Synonima hielt."[40] Nevertheless "Die Hoffnung," written at about the same time, contains several passages strongly reminiscent of the *Essay on Man*.[41]

The critical writings of Pope naturally commanded a large measure of attention. Both the "Leipziger" and the "Schweizer" desired to claim the acknowledged authority on good taste as their own. Drollinger was first in the field with a prose translation of the *Essay on Criticism*, 1741,

[36] *Loc. cit.*, ed. Cramer and Mylius, 1745–1747, Stücke 13–16, *passim*.
[37] Pope, *Sämmtliche Werke*, I–V, Altona, 1758–1764.
[38] Lessing, *Schriften*, VII 5.
[39] Heinzelmann [497] and Schweinsteiger [498].
[40] Schiller, *Briefe*, V 185.
[41] Cf. Krumpelmann [501].

to which the Leipzig group responded with an unsuccessful hexametric version by Müller, 1745. Even Gottsched was at a loss to defend it but he commended it as superior to the lazy prose of Drollinger and the cumbersome verse of Brockes.[42] A prose translation of the *Essay on Criticism* was included in Dusch's work of 1758–1764[43] and three decades later a disappointing effort came from the study of Eschenburg.[44] Not content with the *Essay on Criticism*, Bodmer translated in 1745, in the space of ten days, Pope's *Dunciad*, and published it in 1747.

The temporary popularity of *The Rape of the Lock* was to be expected in its period. The first German translator obviously used the French prose version of Férard (Paris, 1728) as a basis for his prose translation, 1739.[45] The second, Frau Gottsched, worked for six or seven years from the same version and had completed four cantos before she saw the original English version[46] and recognized the futility of her labor. She laid aside her previous work as useless until at length, in 1744, she summoned the energy to retranslate from the beginning.

Pope's mock epic owed much to Boileau's *Le Lutrin*, 1674, and it again to Tassoni's *La Secchia Rapita* (Paris, 1622). A large number of comic epics of a similar kind were written in Germany. The earliest satires of society were Pyra's "Bibliotartarus," a fragment of 1741, and Rost's "Die Tänzerin" of the same year. Zachariä's *Der Renommist*, 1744, is too heavily burdened with a moral lesson to remind one greatly of Pope's work. Of his poems, *Das Schnupftuch* affords the closest parallel to Pope. He wrote other such poems during 1744–1757, some in pentameters and some less successfully in hexameters. Dusch's *Der Schoßhund*, 1756, is one of the most slavish imitations of the period, Uz's *Der Sieg des Liebesgottes*, 1753, one of the freest. Uz announced that he was not endeavoring to write a comic epic after the manner of Pope, but a satire upon some of the tendencies of the time, among them the imitation of things French and English, but it still remains true that the poem borrowed many details from Pope, and its skillful rhymed couplets, of six feet though they are, remind one of Pope's. *The Rape of the Lock* brought no new impulse to German literature. To the versifiers of the rococo school *The Rape of the Lock* was just another poem to be admired and imitated, and in general it may be said that it came upon the scene in its proper form too late to influence greatly German style.

The style of Pope could not fail to affect other poets of the time. In Switzerland Karl Friedrich Drollinger underwent a development not

[42] *Neuer Büchersaal der schönen Wissenschaften und freyen Künste*, I (1745) 252 ff. Cf. Waniek [238] 536.
[43] Cf. fn. 35, above.
[44] *Archiv der Zeit und ihres Geschmackes*, (1796) Jahrgang 17, Bd. II.
[45] Heinzelmann [497] 320 and 332; cf. Blaßneck [18] 113.
[46] Cf. Petzet [493].

unlike that of Haller and Brockes. Originally an adherent of the "second Silesian school" he burned his youthful productions like his friend Haller and began anew under the guidance of Pope. In his "Lob der Gottheit," "Die Unsterblichkeit der Seele," and "Über die göttliche Fürsehung" he treated philosophic themes after the manner of Pope and approached his clarity of style and pregnancy of phrase. Ewald Christian von Kleist professed a great admiration for Pope, knew his works thoroughly, and began at one time a translation of the *Essay on Man*. It is not remarkable that in his shorter poems and in "Der Frühling" there should be faint echoes of Pope's lines, but Kleist's own voice predominates.[47] Pyra's *Der Tempel der wahren Dichtkunst*, 1737, owes much to Pope's *The Temple of Fame*. The architecture and the terrain of the two sanctuaries are comparable, and Pyra, especially in the fourth "Gesang," parallels Pope with several passages.[48] In title and argument Uz's *Théodicée*, 1755, follows Leibniz's *Théodicée* rather than the *Essay on Man*.[49] Attributable to Pope is the idea of expounding his philosophy in verse. The less significant didactic and idyllic poets of Germany were naturally dependent on Pope in a more slavish fashion. In his poems "Der Mensch in Absicht auf die Selbsterkenntnis" and "Gedanken von den Endzwecken der Welt" Zernitz leans rather heavily on the *Essay on Man*. The first book of Dusch's didactic poem *Die Wissenschaft* may be regarded as an expansion of a few lines of the same poem. Despite his footnote reference to Ovid, his idyll "Tolk Schoby" is taken almost literally from Pope's "Windsor Forest."[50] But even with these poets reminiscences of the philosophy of Leibniz or Shaftesbury may be present, and it is unwise to designate a single antecedent even for a specific passage.

In the second half of the century other poems of Pope, hitherto overlooked, leaped into favor. Of these, *January and May, The Temple of Fame*, and *Windsor Forest* were now translated for the first time. Particularly notable was the popularity of *Éloïse to Abélard*. During the period 1780–1805 there were no less than ten renderings of this poem, one of them by Eschenburg and one even by Bürger although Bürger had no use for Pope, the rationalist, or for his verse forms. Herder, Lenz, and Sophie Brentano were also among the translators of Pope[51] but he had ceased to be a vital force in German poetry.

[47] Maack [494] parallels *Menalk*, 49–53 and Pope, *Autumn*, 97–100; the outline of *Wilhelmine* with that of *Autumn* and *Winter; Sehnsucht nach Ruhe*, 19–84, with *Windsor Forest*, 68 ff.; *Frühling*, 334–362, with *Essay on Man*, 267–294.

[48] *Freundschaftliche Lieder* von J. J. Pyra und S. G. Lange, ed. A. Sauer, DLD, XXII (1885) xxxiii–xxxv and xliii f.

[49] Maack [494] compares *Theodicée*, 61–66 with *Essay on Man*, I 88–91 and *Theodicée*, 73–78 with *Essay on Man*, I 289–294.

[50] Maack [494].

[51] Heinzelmann [494] 36.

Pope's "Ode on St. Cecilia's Day" received attention in Germany chiefly as a companion piece to Dryden's "Alexander's Feast." In England and in Germany this poem was long acclaimed as the greatest achievement in English lyric poetry.[52] Handel's composition, 1736, did much to raise it to the sky. Christian Felix Weisse published a translation of "Alexander's Feast," Congreve's "Ode to Harmony," and Pope's "Ode on St. Cecilia's Day" in the "Anhang" to his *Scherzhafte Gedichte*, in 1752. Ramler translated Pope's "Ode" and Dryden's "Alexander's Feast" in 1766.[53] Both Nöldeke and "T . . . r" (possibly Teuber) translated Dryden's poem in 1800. Kosegarten competed with an excellent translation in Schiller's *Musenalmanach auf 1800*, which he reprinted in his *Rhapsodien*, 1801. There was a general agreement that Pope must yield the crown to Dryden.

Pope no doubt did much to popularize the deistic philosophy in Germany where the points at issue between him and his friend Voltaire were understood in a general way. Pope seemed to represent the idea, "Whatever is, is right," Voltaire the idea that much that is, is wrong. At the time of its publication the *Essay on Man* seemed to need explanations and defenses, as we have seen, but it soon came to represent orthodoxy both in philosophy and in theology. Maupertuis, the director of the Berlin academy and an opponent of Voltaire, proposed as the subject of a prize essay "The Metaphysics of Pope" which led Lessing and Mendelssohn in their essay, *Pope ein Metaphysiker!*, 1755, to demonstrate that Pope should be judged as a poet rather than a philosopher. Later critics have sometimes erred in calling the essay an atrempt to prove that he was no philosopher at all. Moreover the essay was probably less read at the time than is generally supposed.[54] Nevertheless it probably tended to undermine Pope's standing as an original thinker. As far as ideas are concerned, Pope is important chiefly as an intermediary of the views of Shaftesbury, which were soon to prove of such great importance to German literature.

On the whole it may be said that after 1750 or thereabouts Pope's *Essay* inspired translations at the hands of minor verse artisans rather than imitation by the major poets. The earlier efforts to translate his poetry redounded to the benefit of the German language, still more so the attempts of Haller, Brockes, and Hagedorn to express philosophical thought in terse metric form. English poets who later came into vogue in Germany, notably Milton, Young, and Shakespeare, used a language

[52] Baumgartner [360] 64.
[53] Heinzelmann [497].
[54] Ten Hoor [279] 1142 ff.

less pellucid than Pope's but more acceptable to the later German schools. It was well for German poetry that for a while at least English authority seemed to sanction clarity and simplicity, but also well that the vogue of this school was of short duration.

Chapter VI

THOMSON AND DESCRIPTIVE POETRY

During his short life, James Thomson wrote tragedies, didactic verse, and descriptive poems of the four seasons, but *The Seasons* alone marked a new departure in poetry. His tragedies, written chiefly after the completion of *The Seasons*, found scant favor in England and made little stir abroad. Lessing did most to make them known in Germany. For the *Theatralische Bibliothek* he translated the life of Thomson, from Cibber's *Lives of the Poets of Great Britain and Ireland*,[1] and when a society in Stralsund published a collection of translations of Thomson's tragedies in 1750 he wrote for it an introduction, in which he called the tragic Thomson one of the greatest of geniuses "durch die Kenntniß des menschlichen Herzens und durch die magische Kunst, jede Leidenschaft vor unsern Augen entstehen, wachsen und ausbrechen zu lassen."[2] Otherwise what he says of interest in the preface is aside from the subject for it concerns the "irregular tragedy," and, as Lessing admits, Thomson's tragedies are "nicht allein *französisch* sondern *griechisch* regelmäßig."[3]

Thomson's tragedies, though rarely played in Germany,[4] were important to German literature chiefly because of the impulse they gave to the drama in blank verse. Several translations had been published between 1749 and 1758, but all of them had been in prose with the exception of Michaelis's *Agamemnon* "in reimlosen Alexandrinern."[5] Then Johann Heinrich Schlegel began translating them into blank verse: *Sophonisbe*, 1758; *Agamemnon* and *Coriolanus*, 1760; *Tancred*, 1764; *Eduard und Eleonore*, 1764. Previous to this time blank verse had been employed in Germany for other forms of poetry, but had not been regarded as sufficiently noble for tragedy. The chief exception here is Wieland's *Johanna Gray*, 1738. Johann Elias Schlegel's blank-verse translation of Congreve's *The Mourning Bride* had also been written but had not been published as yet. In the prefaces to his translations Johann Heinrich Schlegel advocated the use of the English blank verse. That he was sometimes vague and erroneous as to its exact nature is of no consequence in this connection. Between 1760 and the appearance of *Nathan*

[1] Lessing, *Schriften*, VI 53–70.
[2] *Ibid.*, VI 54 ff.
[3] *Ibid.*, VII 67.
[4] Ackermann played in *Eduard und Eleonora* and *Tancred;* see F. L. W. Meyer, *Friedrich Ludwig Schröder*, neue Ausgabe, Hamburg, 1823, II 2, p. 116.
[5] Discussed by Lessing in the *Theatralische Bibliothek*. A passage of the translation is included. Lessing, *Schriften*, VI 64 f. Lessing's prose translation of a fragment of *Agamemnon* and of *Tancred and Sigismunde* is included in the "Nachlaß." Lessing, *Schriften*, XXII 47–69.

der Weise and *Don Carlos* there were several attempts to write original German tragedies in blank verse.

The philosophic, didactic, and lyric poems of Thomson made an impression upon certain leading German poets, first of all on Hagedorn. If Pope was his best teacher in form, Thomson was most congenial to him in social ideals. Hagedorn especially commended to his friends the spirit of Thomson's poem, "Liberty."

> Unless corruption first deject the pride
> And guardian vigor of the free-born soul
> All crude attempts of violence are gone.

Similarly Hagedorn says in "Der Weise":

> Die Schmeicheley legt ihre sanften Bande,
> Ihr glattes Joch, nur eitlen Seelen an.
> Unedler Ruhm und unverdiente Schande,
> O waget euch an keinen Biedermann![6]

Like Thomson, Hagedorn lays emphasis upon innocence, cheerfulness, health, avoidance of self-delusion; and both extol the joy of true friendship of man for man, and the pleasures of country life. Hagedorn caught the political spirit of Thomson's poetry and put it in German terms more accurately than did his contemporaries.

Milton, Young, and Elizabeth Rowe have generally been thought sufficient to account for any English tone in Klopstock's *Oden*. In his poems and correspondence he praises these and other English authors but makes no mention of Thomson, yet Schmidt and Gleim, his most intimate friends, corresponded regarding Thomson, and Ebert read Kleist's *Frühling* aloud to a circle of friends, of whom Klopstock was one. Thomson's poetry, already much discussed elsewhere, must certainly have been spoken of in such a gathering. Klopstock, at the time, knew no English, but the translations of Brockes were at his disposal. It is not Thomson's nature poetry that comes into consideration in this connection, but his ethical system. Aside from descriptions of nature, the prevailing themes in Thomson's poetry are religion, friendship, love, and patriotism. Klopstock's odes are usually grouped under just these rubrics, and in a number of passages Klopstock uses pictures, comparisons, and words similar to Thomson's.

In 1789 Ludwig Schubart, the son of the Swabian poet, presented Schiller with his translation of Thomson's *The Seasons*. Schiller acknowledged the gift in a letter which showed that the work was new to him.

[6] Hagedorn, *Werke*, I 18; "Liberty" 490 ff. Cf. Coffman [243].

Succeeding letters of the period indicate that Thomson made a deep impression on Schiller. The second part of the *Spaziergang*, lines 50–172, contains a vision of the rise of civilization and its decay, and here are passages resembling verses in *The Seasons*. Thomson begins with the mechanical aspect of civilization, passes on to the development of social life and virtues, as shown in the commonwealth with its legal order, patriotism, and devotion, and ends with the city as the highest form of social order. Schiller expresses the same thoughts though in a different order. He begins with "die thürmende Stadt," which echoes phrases of Schubart, Klopstock, and Thomson,[7] and then proceeds to the two other phases.

During the eighteenth century a gradual change took place in the treatment of nature in English literature. The earlier English poets of the century, of whom Pope is typical, praised the benign aspects of nature, the blue skies, the green fields, and gently sloping hills, in somewhat traditional phrases. A little later the phrases became less stereotyped and the descriptions more realistic. At the same time the ruder phases of nature—storms, vast seas, and frozen mountain peaks—began to receive attention, and were defended as useful after all. In the end nature came to be glorified, even in her most forbidding aspects and sternest moods, as one inseparable whole so fashioned as to exalt the soul of man.

The transition was formerly called the romantic revolt, as if it were a conscious reaction against rationalism, but it is now generally recognized that the change was a natural evolution, and that the seeds of development were contained in the writings and thought of the preceding decades. The church regarded as strictly orthodox the defense of nature on the ground that some of its seemingly malevolent features were after all benignant. (William King's *De Origine Mali*, 1702, English translation, 1729.) From the theologian the idea passed to the poet and was expressed by Richard Blackmore in *Creation* as early as 1712. This defensive interpretation of stern nature continued throughout the first half of the century, but to it was soon added an esthetic appreciation of nature as a whole. Even the unsentimental Pope declared in the *Essay on Man*, I, 167:

> All are but parts of one stupendous whole,
> Whose body Nature is and God the soul;

but he dwelt in detail only upon nature's milder aspects. Shaftesbury, however, in his *Moralists*, 1709, had found nature in its totality to be the chief and most wonderful revelation of God and heretically regarded

[7] Schubart, "thurmbekränztes Haupt"; Klopstock, "thürmende Stadt"; Thomson, "tower-circled head." Cf. Walz [616].

other proofs as superfluous. He not only defended but glorified the harsher aspects of nature and thus was a prose predecessor of Thomson and the winter poets and not an opponent as has sometimes been implied.

Thomson's *The Seasons*, which appeared in London during 1726–1730, were felt to constitute an entirely new kind of poetry, not only in form but also in content. It had long been considered proper to praise nature with the choice, noble, and agreeable poetic epithets of the ancients, but Thomson's verses were free from restrictions not only of rhyme, but, to a large extent, of diction as well. The peacock's feathers had long constituted a part of the stock in trade of the poet, but Thomson saw beauty also in the feathers of the turkey, the cock, and the duck. In place of the customary epithets he used adjectives more precise. He described the common wild flowers and the birds, and appreciated the beauty of the uncultivated fields and distant hills as well as of the convenient, well-cared-for parks. These innovations found much favor in England and the new type of poetry soon made its way into Germany as well.

The earliest translator of Thomson was Brockes, who in 1740 published "Die wilden und unordentlichen Eigenschaften der Liebe aus Mr. Thomsons Seasons" as an appendix to his translation of Pope's *Essay on Man*. Brockes used several different meters, as if by way of experiment and translated freely. As an introduction to his "Harmonische Himmelslust im Irdischen" he used Thomson's "Hymn to the Seasons" in 1741. At about the same time Brockes incorporated lines 535–827 of *Spring* in his "Frühlingsgedicht." In 1743 he paraphrased *Summer*, lines 46–95, and embodied the passage in "Morgengedanken" in *Irdisches Vergnügen in Gott* (VII, 18). Finally, in 1745, he published a translation of the entire work. Ebert wrote to Hagedorn, January 15, 1748: "Ich habe neulich den göttlichen Thomson recht durchstudiert. Ich kann es dem seligen Brockes kaum vergeben, daß er ihn übersetzt hat."[8] Brockes's "wohlgemeinte Übersetzung," as Lessing called it,[9] was generally regarded as unsatisfactory, even in the earlier years when it stood alone, but the private correspondence of such poets and critics as Ebert, Bodmer, Sulzer, Gleim, Uz, Kleist, Giseke, Gessner, Lessing, Eschenburg, and Wieland testify to the popularity of the original.[10]

Brockes's translation was followed by Tobler's, 1757, and von Palthen's, 1758, and then by Schubart's, 1789, "im Versmaße des Originals," and by Harries's also in verse, 1796.[11] At least six further translations were made between 1815 and 1827. These later versions, to be sure, indi-

[8] Hagedorn, *Werke*, V 256.
[9] Lessing, *Schriften*, VII 67.
[10] Gjerset [608], Stewart [611] 386.
[11] Based chiefly on the English edition of 1746. Stewart [611] 385.

cate in a rough fashion the improvement of the German poetic language, but they did not accelerate it, as did the translations of Pope, for the "critical" period of the development had already passed.

The influence of Thomson's *The Seasons* on German literature and particularly on Brockes and Haller, was formerly overestimated.[12] Brockes was fifty years of age when *The Seasons* began to appear and he had begun his *Irdisches Vergnügen in Gott*, 1721–1748, at least fifteen years before he first studied them. He had already formed his method, which was not totally unlike Thomson's. He too had taught his countrymen to go out of doors and study nature at first hand. He observed the minute phenomena of nature more intently than Thomson. He noted the colors of an insect and the structure of the nightingale's throat with accuracy. He laid stress upon the things perceived by the senses, on sights and sounds and odors, but because he lacked the imagination of Thomson and because the German poetic language was poorer than the English, he could not describe as well as Thomson. The grass was for him as green as the traditional emerald, and the dew was like diamonds. Moreover he lacked Thomson's panoramic vision and his admiration for irregular landscapes and uncultivated expanses. Thomson sought the distant beckoning hilltops, Brockes the shady river banks and level meadows. Thomson loved nature for its mysterious influence, Brockes used nature to show how astonishingly well the creator had ministered to the needs and comfort of man. It was this which rendered him so soon antiquated. The first volume of his *Irdisches Vergnügen in Gott* passed through seven editions, the last through but one. Weisse, 1767, Gessner, 1772, and Wieland, 1782, spoke of the "so bewunderten und so bald wieder vergessenen Brockes."[13]

Brockes was ungrudging in his praise of Thomson. In his *Irdisches Vergnügen in Gott* Brockes speaks of *The Seasons*,

> In welcher Schrifft der große Thomson so sinnreich, so beglückt gewesen,
> Daß wir bei keiner Nation dergleichen Meister-Stück gelesen.[14]

The admiring Zink wrote an introduction to Brockes's translation of *The Seasons*, in which he said:

Die Furcht, durch diese erhabene Schreibart sich übertroffen zu sehen, hat ihn so wenig abhalten können, selbige bekannt zu machen, daß er sich vielmehr verbunden erachtet, wenn er auch übertroffen wäre, den großen Endzweck auch hierin desto mehr befördern zu helfen, welcher bei ihm einzig und allein darin besteht, das wahre Vergnügen der Menschen in vernünftigem Genuß nach Möglichkeit zu befördern.

[12] E. g. by Koch [141] 13 and 16. Flindt [143].
[13] NBSWFK, V (1767) 23; "Briefe über die Landschaftsmalerei" DNL, XLII, p. 289; *Teutscher Merkur*, 1782, IV 67.
[14] *Op. cit.*, VII 427.

Any influence of *The Seasons* on the chief work of Brockes was clearly belated. His earliest study of Thomson was begun in Ritzebüttel in 1733, his translations in 1740. Either that or the new quiet environment seems to have given a new impulse to his poetry and he made a conscious effort to appropriate something of Thomson's art. He began *Herbst,* 1743, with the words:

> Auf denn, mein Geist! Tritt eine neue Bahn
> In dieser Zeitentheilung an!

The new arrangement, which is according to seasons, is carried over also to the next volume, 1746. The last three parts of the *Irdisches Vergnügen in Gott* display many verbal parallels to *The Seasons,* but a common classic heritage may account for some of these. Brockes shows a slight but unmistakable tendency, however, in the concluding parts of his work, to forego microscopic descriptions of leaves, flowers, and small objects and cast his eyes over greater distances in the manner of Thomson.

Certain of the similarities between Thomson and Brockes are due to the acquiescence of both in the philosophic trend of the time represented by Shaftesbury in England and by Leibniz in Germany, but Brockes sometimes leaned toward Shaftesbury rather than Leibniz. Brockes agreed with both in regarding God as the "souverain ouvrier," "souvereign artist, or universal plastic nature," "a just Prometheus under Jove," as Shaftesbury would say, but he specifically rejected Leibniz's monad theory,[15] and, like Shaftesbury, whose works he read zealously,[16] he regarded the world as essentially a unified organism, while Leibniz saw in it a group of objects, each one in tune and harmony with all the others. Shaftesbury and Leibniz both conceived a world in which every being bore within itself the reason for its existence. Here Brockes disagreed with both, for he assumed all objects and all lower creatures in the worlds as existing for the physical well-being of man. Thus he was not qualified to initiate a "romantic revolt" in Germany, but his ethical system was quite in accord with Shaftesbury's. The subordination, but not the repression, of the natural instincts of man, the love of nature, of the good, the beautiful, and the true constituted for both the highest virtue.

As for Haller, any influence of Thomson on his poetry is questionable. Max Koch wrote in 1881: "Das Bestreben Thomson und Pope zu verbinden hat Albrecht von Haller in seinen *Alpen* geleitet,"[17] but this is chronologically unplausible, if not quite impossible. When Haller visited England in 1727, of *The Seasons* only "Winter" had appeared. The plan

[15] *Ibid.,* VI 679 f.
[16] *Ibid.,* IX 476 ff. Cf. Manikowsky [540] 83.
[17] Koch [141] 14; similarly Flindt [143] 12.

of *Die Alpen* was conceived during a mountain trip which Haller made in 1729. Had Koch applied his observation rather to *Über den Ursprung des Übels*, 1734, it might have passed unchallenged. As an introduction to this poem Haller begins with a panoramic view of a wide actual landscape as viewed from the peak of Gurten. Before him lie fertile meadows on which are grazing sheep, cows, and horses. The view is bounded by distant mountains.

> Ein allgemeines Wohl beseelet die Natur
> Und alles trägt des höchsten Gutes Spur!

The poem is not written in blank verse but here for the first time Haller breaks away from regular rhymes and verse length. There is, to be sure, no reference to Thomson in Haller's correspondence with Stähelin to substantiate Haller's knowledge of Thomson before 1734.

The relation of Christian Ewald von Kleist to Thomson is not cloaked in uncertainties. Kleist had long been a friend and admirer of Brockes. He could read Brockes's translation of *The Seasons* in the "Anhang" to the *Irdisches Vergnügen in Gott*, 1744–1749, on the opposite pages of which the *Seasons* were reprinted. Brockes translated *The Seasons* into rhymed octameters. Kleist's *Frühling* is written in chiefly dactylic hexameters. The original title of his poem was "Landlust." In the introduction Kleist said:

> Gegenwärtiges Gedicht ist nicht sowol eine ausführliche Beschreibung des Frühlings, seiner Abwechselungen und Wirkungen auf die Thiere, Gewächse u.dgl. als vielmehr eine Abbildung der Gestalt und der Bewohner der Erde, wie sie sich an einem Frühlingstage des Verfassers Augen dargeboten. Er hat diesen Weg zu erwählen nöthig gehalten, um was Neues zu sagen; denn auf erstere Weise haben schon Viele, und zwar Thomson unnachahmbar, diese Jahreszeit besungen.

On the advice of Gleim, Kleist changed the title from "Landlust" to *Der Frühling*, thus challenging the comparison he particularly wished to avoid. Kleist made several other changes on Gleim's advice, then, after he had sought in vain for a publisher, 150 copies were printed at the end of the year 1749 "auf Kosten mehrerer angesehener Männer." The poem became popular and several new editions appeared in Zürich, Berlin, and Frankfurt between 1750 and 1754.

Both Thomson and Kleist were familiar with classic descriptive poetry. Thomson's poem parallels Vergil's *Georgics* in more than one passage, but it has been noted that sometimes Kleist follows Thomson closely in his deviation from Vergil.[18] Nevertheless it is clear that *Der Frühling* is not a slavish imitation of a model, although it has caught much of the

[18] Gjerset [608] 24–26.

spirit of its predecessor. The two poems have different merits, which Sauer has well characterized:

> Thomson hat mehr epische Anlagen als sein mehr lyrisch gestimmter Nachahmer; er ist einheitlicher und planvoller, Kleist sprunghafter und zerfahrener. Thomsons Gedicht schließt sich zu einer fest verbundenen Kette von einzelnen in einander übergehenden Landschaftsbilder; Kleists *Frühling* zerstiebt in eine aussprühende Feuergarbe lose geknüpfter Coloritstudien. Thomsons Werk steht als Ganzes höher; Kleists Gedicht birgt im Einzelnen wertvollere Schönheiten.[19]

Kleist soon desisted from the plan of continuing his work through the cycle of the year. Christian Felix Weisse relates:

> Der sel. Kleist zeigte uns einstmals ein 30–40 Verse vom Anfange zum *Sommer;* und als wir ihn baten darin fortzufahren, versicherte er uns heilig, daß solches nimmer mehr geschehen würde. Seit er den Thomson recht gelesen habe, sey er völlig davon abgeschreckt worden und er rechne sich seinen *Frühling* als eine Übereilung an.[20]

Kleist's poem stirred several German poets to emulation. Blum and Slevogt[21] might be called primarily imitators of Kleist rather than Thomson. Von Palthen, Hirschfeld,[22] Dusch,[23] Zachariä, and Giseke were all confessed imitators of Thomson. Lessing called von Palthen's "Lenz," "eine Sammlung von alle dem . . . was er bey Übersetzung des Thomsonschen *Frühlings* schlechteres gedacht hat; eine Sammlung von Zügen und Bildern, die Thomson und Kleist und selbst Zachariä verschmähet haben."[24]

Zachariä wrote to Gleim on December 10, 1754: "Thomson seine *Jahreszeiten* haben mich so begeistert, daß ich versucht habe, ob ich ihm und Kleisten von ferne nachfliegen könnte," but he was compelled to admit in his *Tageszeiten*, 1755:

> Nur Thomsonsche Hymnen erfüllen die Seele mit Feuer
> Und besingen den erhabensten Gegenstand würdig.[25]

Giseke began the study of English under Ebert's tutelage. In a letter to Hagedorn of April 8, 1748 Ebert regretted that he had not been able to teach him more, "ihn, der so würdig ist, Pope und Thomson zu studieren,"[26] but in 1757 Giseke translated Thomson's "Hymn to the Seasons," and perhaps about the same time also two scenes of *Edward and*

[19] Sauer [614] I 156.
[20] NBSWFK, I (1765) 132.
[21] J. Chr. Blum, "Die Hügel bei Rathenau," 1777; C. S. Slevogt, "Versuch eines poetischen Gemäldes des Herbsts," 1771.
[22] J. F. von Palthen, "Lenz," 1758; C. C. L. Hirschfeld, "Landleben," 1767, "Herbst," 1769.
[23] J. J. Dusch, *Schilderungen aus dem Reiche der Natur und Sittenlehre durch alle Monate des Jahres*, 1757–1760; "Tolk-Schuby," 1756.
[24] Lessing, *Schriften*, VIII 12.
[25] Crosland [303] 292 ff. Cf. Gjerset [608] 41 ff.
[26] Hagedorn, *Werke*, V 266.

Eleonora, which were never published. The plan of his odes to "Frühling," "Herbst," and "Winter," is based on *The Seasons*, and the phraseology is also reminiscent of Thomson. The first two of these were written in 1747, before Kleist's *Frühling* appeared. Herder said of Giseke: "[Er scheint] in keiner Dichtungsart eigenen Ton, Originalmanier zu haben; er [hat] sich überall in den Ton eines Anderen aber sehr glücklich hineingedichtet."[27] It remains true, however, that Giseke did not imitate Thomson's metrical form, but wrote only shorter well-rhymed lyric poems.

After the middle of the eighteenth century descriptive poetry fell into disfavor. The change seems to have begun in England but it soon crossed over to the continent. Pope apologized for his earlier poetic efforts in "Windsor Forest" and other poems, asking ironically in his "Prologue" to the *Satires*, verse 147 f.:

> Who could take offense
> While pure description held the place of sense?

Warton, in his *Essay on the Genius and Writing of Pope*, 1757, however, took up the challenge in behalf of descriptive poetry, claiming Lucretius and Vergil's *Georgics* as sanction, but Mendelssohn in turn, 1759, replied to Warton, that with the Romans the didactic aim was predominant and description was introduced only by way of variety, whereas in Thomson's work description was an aim in itself.[28] Lessing agreed with Mendelssohn regarding the necessary separation of the two arts, and in *Laokoon* XVII, he quoted Pope's disparaging words about his own early descriptive poetry, adding a similar confession of Kleist's regarding his *Frühling*,[29] but without making mention of Thomson in that connection. The growing opposition to descriptive poetry—especially after Lessing had entered the lists against it—proved effective, and indications of continued interest in Thomson's descriptions after 1770 are rare. At the turn of the century, however, *The Seasons* were able to celebrate a final triumph. Haydn's oratorio *Die Jahreszeiten* was first produced on April 24, 1801, with a text which Haydn's friend, Gottfried von Swieten, had written the previous year, basing it on Thomson's *The Seasons*. In this form Thomson is best appreciated today in Germany and elsewhere.

Since the descriptive poetry of Thomson was an exemplification of one of his chief theories, Bodmer promptly became interested in *The Seasons*,

[27] Herder, *Werke*, IV 278.

[28] BSWFK, IV (1758) 512. Cf. Goldstein [176] 198, Gjerset [608] 73 and ten Hoor [279].

[29] See, however, *Laokoon* chap. xi and "Leben des Herrn Jacob Thomson," Lessing, *Schriften*, IX 78, VI 53, 55, XXIII 240.

but he first chose certain narrative passages for translation. To his edition of *Thirsis und Damons freundschaftliche Lieder*, 1747, he appended a German version of three episodes out of Thomson's *The Seasons*. In his letters to Wieland, Bodmer later made it clear that he was dissatisfied with the poetic narratives of his German predecessors. On February 5, 1752, the eighteen-year-old Wieland confided to Bodmer that he was planning to write some "Erzählungen" and thought well at least of Hagedorn's and Gellert's attempts in this genre.

Außer Hagedorns und Gellerts hab' ich wenige gesehen, die mir gefallen hätten. Aber die Art, wie diese erzählen, ist nach meinem Geschmack. Herr Gellert ist mein Mignon. Diese naiven Annehmlichkeiten, dieser natürliche Witz, diese anmuthige, einfältige Sprache der Erzählung, die die Seele seiner Fabeln und Erzählungen sind, gefallen mir unendlich. Mich däucht fast, wie er erzählt, würde jeder geistreiche Kopf unter seinen Freunden mündlich erzählen. Je mehr ich also von Gellert halte, desto begieriger bin ich, von Ihnen zu erfahren, was Sie an ihm aussetzen.[30]

Apparently Bodmer did not agree, for, in a letter of March 6, Wieland resumed the defense of Gellert. At that time Wieland was unable to read English. He wrote to Schinz:

Ich werde nächstens das Englische zu lernen anfangen. Ich brenne vor Begierde, Milton, Pope, Addison, Young, Thomson in ihrer Sprache zu lesen. Diesen Thomson, der mir nur aus den verdeutschten *Seasons* bekannt ist, schätze ich unendlich hoch. Lebt er noch? Sein Herz ist ungemein zärtlich und edel und sein Pinsel hat vieles von Miltons Stärke und eine gewisse Virgilianische Anmuth über diese.[31]

The *Erzählungen* were completed by May, 1752. For the inspiration to write them, Wieland acknowledged indebtedness to Bodmer, hence to Thomson, but to other English authors as well:

Die *Erzählungen* zu schreiben, faßte ich den Entschluß, als ich Ihre aus Thomson übersetzte Erzählungen las; doch hatte mir schon vorher *Pygmalion und Elisa* etwas dergleichen eingegeben. Die Briefe der allerliebsten Rowe belebten diesen Vorsatz noch mehr. Ihr gehören die schönsten Gedanken und Bilder der *Erzählungen*. Ich habe gar wenig Erfindungskraft: *Balsora* gehört Hr. Addison . . . *Serena* großenteils dem Verfasser des *Tattler*, den ich im Französischen gelesen habe, denn zu meinem Unglück habe ich noch nie Gelegenheit gehabt Englisch zu lernen.[32]

This may have been a turning point in the history of the "Verserzählung" in Germany. Specifically Wieland's desertion of Gellert in favor of Thomson meant many things for the development of the genre. It meant a change from the small-town atmosphere to a free, out-of-doors and natural world, from a satirical to an idyllic and elegiac tone, from bare narration to narration mixed with description, from rhymed verse to unrhymed pentameter and from plainness and meagerness of style to

[30] Wieland, *Briefe*, I 32.
[31] *Ibid.*, I 55.
[32] *Ibid.*, I 95. Cf. p. 56, above.

pleasant ornamentation. It gave greater room for the play of fancy and the entry of sentiment.[33]

It has not escaped notice that a passage in Gessner's early idyll *Daphnis*, 1754, parallels closely the Palemon-Lavinia episode in Thomson's *Autumn* and that the passage in the fifth "Gesang" of *Der Tod Abels*, 1758, beginning, "So wie wenn drei liebenswürdige Gespielen" has its close counterpart in the tragic fate of Celadon's Amelia, stricken by a thunderbolt, in Thomson's *Summer*.[34] As a disciple of Bodmer and as a painter Geßner was conditioned to be an admirer of Thomson. In his "Brief über die Landschaftsmalerei," 1772, he wrote: "Der Landschaftsmaler muß sehr zu beklagen sein, den z. B. die Gemälde eines Thomson nicht begeistern können."[35] In Geßner's idylls we find the grace of Thomson rather than the analytic pedantry of Brockes or the melancholy reflectivity of Kleist, and perhaps the same might be said of his pictorial art.

Goethe, in one of his last conversations in 1832, chanced to refer to Thomson. Goethe was talking to Eckermann about the Greek idea of fate. For the modern poet to make use of it, he said, would be an affectation.

> Wir Neueren sagen jetzt besser mit Napoleon: "Die Politik ist das Schicksal." Hüten wir uns aber mit unseren neuesten Literatoren zu sagen, die Politik sei die Poesie, oder sei für den Poeten ein passender Gegenstand. Der englische Dichter Thomson schrieb ein sehr gutes Gedicht über die Jahreszeiten, allein ein sehr schlechtes über die Freiheit, und zwar nicht aus Mangel an Poesie im Poeten, sondern aus Mangel an Poesie im Gegenstand.[36]

Goethe's interest in Thomson has received only passing attention. Kutscher is convinced that Goethe knew his chief works at least before 1767 when he wrote his "Ode an Behrisch." In the period after that time and before 1789 he finds parallels—none of them exclusive parallels—between verses in nearly twenty poems of Goethe and verses in Thomson's *The Seasons*.[37] Commentators have agreed with Loeper that there is a connection between the first stanza of "Mignon's Lied" and a passage in Thomson's "Summer," v. 663 ff.[38]

> Bear me, Pomona!, to thy *citron* groves;
> To *where* the lemon and piercing lime,
> With *the* deep *orange, glowing thro' the green,*

[33] Fresenius [617] 526.
[34] Ritter [612].
[35] DNL, XLI 1, p. 288.
[36] Eckermann, *Gespräche*, 646.
[37] A. Kutscher, *Das Naturgefühl in Goethes Lyrik* . . ., BBL, VIII (1906) 40 and *passim*.
[38] Loeper, Kutscher, Wolff, Boucke, Boyd [231] 211, all quoted by Williams [613].

> Their lighter glories blend. Lay me reclin'd
> Beneath the spreading tamarind that shakes,
> *Fann'd by the breeze*, its fever cooling fruit.[39]

In Thomson's "Liberty," II, 354 f., occur also the lines:

> the precipice frowned dire;
> White, down the rock, the rushing torrent dashed,

recalling, "es stürzt der Fels und über ihn die Fluth." Closer parallels to Thomson's "Summer" have recently been discovered in "Gesang," as it was first called in 1774, later "Mahomets Gesang," and "Gesang der lieblichen Geister in der Wüste," 1779, later "Gesang der Geister über den Wassern."[40] These passages taken together indicate that Goethe was much impressed by Thomson's poetry during 1767–1779 and that passages echoed in his mind, even to the time when he wrote *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*.

[39] The words are italicized as in Williams [613] 11.

[40] *Summer*, verses 802–822, and "Gesang" 1773; *Summer*, 582–606, and 887–894. The passages are quoted by Williams [613].

Chapter VII

LOCKE AND SHAFTESBURY

The German public at large first became aware of contemporary English literature through translations of the *Spectator* and through the German moral weeklies, but English ideas on philosophy and religion had begun to stimulate German scholars long before that time. It may suffice here to refer only to Locke and Shaftesbury many of whose ideas took literary form in the works of Addison, Pope, and other Augustans, and by such channels were disseminated later in German literature.

In his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, 1690, Locke came to the conclusion that revelation should be submitted to the test of reason—not only the substance of the revelation, but the validity of the revelation itself. Leibniz and Wolff were in general agreement with Locke in this contention. Thomasius too accepted it at first, wavered for a time at Halle under the influence of the pietists, but returned to his original view after reading the chapter on enthusiasm, which Locke added to the fourth edition of his *Essay* in 1700.

In the *Reasonableness of Christianity as Deliver'd in the Scriptures*, 1695, Locke declared himself against the theory of original sin, deprecated the quarrels between the Anglicans, the Puritans, and other sectarians, and proposed that all should be regarded as Christians who believed that Christ was the Messiah. Among his followers in England were the "latitudinarians," Chillingworth, Jeremy Taylor, and Ralph Cudworth. The counterpart of this group in Holland went under the name of the "Remonstrants," a leader among whom was Locke's friend Philip van Limbroch. The *Reasonableness of Christianity* was not translated into German until 1733 but was earlier well known through a French translation which appeared in Amsterdam in 1696. This work was more orthodox than its predecessor in that it maintained that revelation was necessary since the human mind unassisted is unable to attain to ultimate truth. At this second stage Locke maintained that reason should decide as to the origin of a revelation but when that was validated, the content should be accepted and the truth seeker should find it possible to reconcile the content with the conclusions of reason.

Next it was necessary to determine just what was the content of the revelation. Such attempts had been made before but Locke offered his contribution under the title *Paraphrases of St. Paul*, 1705–1707. German scholars who followed this line of research were called "Neologians." The group included men notable in their day, among them S. J. Baumgarten,

Jerusalem, Ernesti, Michaelis, and Sack. Herder also supported the group by his historical approach to Biblical interpretation. He ranked Locke, Benson, Clarke, Taylor, and Whitby as the best English interpreters[1] and asked:

Hats Deutschland genutzt oder geschadet daß Spalding, Felix Heß, Sack, Bamberger u.a. uns mit Foster und Shaftesbury, Buttler und Law, Benson und Locke bekannt gemacht haben? Zuerst schrie alles: Naturalismus! Deismus! Arianer! Socianer! Das Christenthum geht unter, wenn den Übersetzern nicht mit Gewalt gesteuert wird! Der Erfolg hat anders gewiesen.[2]

Later in the century the German "Aufklärer" took their stand with Locke's most rationalistic pronouncements, those in the *Essay*. Mendelssohn was a student of Locke's work early in life. He learned Latin painfully with the aid of the Latin version of the *Essay* and a Latin dictionary. In the religion of his fathers, he said, there was no conflict between reason and faith.[3] He once wrote to Lessing: "Nur Locke, Klarke und etwa Shaftesbury sind in meinen Augen wahre Weltweisen."[4]

In England there was a trend toward ever greater skepticism. Not all of the more daring works were translated into German but their content became known through the rebuttals of the English and German defenders of orthodoxy. Tindal's *Christianity as old as the Creation* was translated. Mosheim wrote about Toland, Gründig about Herbert of Cherbury. Thorschmidt's *Freidenker Bibliothek*, 1755–1756, gave a fairly complete view of the history of deism. Samuel Reimarus's *Abhandlung von den vornehmsten Wahrheiten der christlichen Religion* appeared during his lifetime, but its continuation, *Apologie oder Schutzschrift für die vernünftigen Verehrer Gottes*, could only appear with Lessing's connivance after the author's death under the title *Fragmente . . . aus den Papieren eines Ungenannten*, 1774. Lessing's own views regarding the function of revelation are clearly set forth in *Die Erziehung des Menschengeschlechtes*. Here Lessing added a poetic thought which made the theory more acceptable to the orthodox. Revelation was an aid to the human race in its childhood but was superfluous when it reached its maturity.

According to Locke's original plan, one chapter of his *Essay* was to deal with *The Conduct of the Understanding*. This chapter soon developed into a separate treatise which was first published in his *Posthumous Works*, 1714. Here Locke expanded upon an idea which, to be sure, he did not originate, that the mind of a new-born child was as a blank

[1] Herder, *Werke*, X 260.
[2] *Ibid.*, XI 205.
[3] *Mendelssohns Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. G. B. Mendelssohn, 1843–1845, III 164; cf. Brown [410] 150.
[4] Lessing, *Schriften*, XIX 123.

sensitive piece of paper, *tabula rasa*, filled little by little by impressions from without, which the mind then assorted and ordered by dint of meditation.[5] Christian Wolff discussed the problem in a special treatise, *Vernünfftige Gedanken von den Krafften des menschlichen Verstandes und ihrem richtigen Gebrauche in Erkenntniß der Wahrheit*, 1712. Wolff disagreed with Locke and adhered to a generally accepted view of innate ideas, ideas which "vielmehr schon vor sich in dem Wesen der Seele begraben liegen und bloß durch ihre eigene Kraft auf Veranlassung der Veränderungen, die auswärtige Dinge in unserem Körper verursachen, hervorgebracht werden."[6] In this, Wolff followed Leibniz, who in his *Nouveaux essais sur l'entendement humain*, 1704, had compared the soul at birth to a block of marble, bearing within itself a form ready to be freed by the sculptor. Leibniz's *Nouveaux essais* discussed point by point the theories of Locke in his *Essay on the Conduct of the Understanding*. Gottsched, who had begun reading Locke as a student in Königsberg as early as 1724, disagreed with Leibniz and Wolff, and in *Die vernünftigen Tadlerinnen*, 1729, he wrote at some length in support of Locke's view.[7]

Breitinger was also an early adherent of Locke's view, but he gained Bodmer's assent to it only after some correspondence.[8] Locke's theory even contributed to the name of Bodmer and Breitinger's journal *Die Discourse der Mahlern*, for the "painters" of the society planned to transfer their ideas to the canvas of their readers' minds. The editors adapted to their journal many ideas of the *Spectator*, but frequently looked beyond it to its source in Locke. In general it may be said that the philosophical Breitinger was more interested in the nature of ideas, while Bodmer was interested in the resultant pictures. Among Breitinger's contributions were "Die Kunst des Denkens" and "Vom Meditiren," both of which contain obvious parallels to Locke.

In Book III, chapters x and xi, of *The Conduct of the Understanding* are entitled "Of the abuse of words," and "Of the remedies of the foregoing imperfections and abuses." Locke rejected the idea that language was a divine gift of God to man in the Garden of Eden, as well as the idea that it was developed from irrational vocal responses to pain or pleasure. He maintained that language was based on conventions among the gregarious members of the human race. The remedy for the faults of the intercommunicating system lay then in the more precise definition of words. In his *Critische Betrachtungen über die poetischen Gemälde der*

[5] Rev. in *Acta Eruditorum*, 1691, 501–505.
[6] *Op. cit.*, 6th ed., Halle, 1731, I vi and 135.
[7] *Loc. cit.*, ed. of 1738, Frankfurt and Leipzig, II xlviii. Cf. Brown [412] 6.
[8] Hans Bodmer, *Die Gesellschaft der Maler in Zürich und ihre Diskurse*, Frauenfeld, 1895, 102 ff. Cf. Brown [411] 17.

Dichter, 1744, Bodmer accepted Locke's conventional theory and its practical application. Gottsched accepted it as well. Locke pointed out, however, that there were certain feelings or thoughts difficult to convey by words agreed upon in advance. This impasse is sometimes solvable by the use of metaphors. It is obvious that Bodmer could make good use of this support in his *Critische Betrachtungen über die poetischen Gemälde der Dichter*, 1741, and for his thesis, "ut pictura poesis," "Die Poesie ist nicht anders denn eine beständige und weitläufige Mahlerei." Bodmer could also quote Locke in support of his theory that poetry was a more effective means of summoning pictures up in the human mind than were sculpture or painting.[9]

Whatever differences of opinion there may have been in regard to Locke's theory of innate ideas, there was general assent to his practical suggestions in regard to education—chiefly that the example of parents was more effective than precept and punishment, that interest was more effective than compulsion on the part of teachers, and that children should be treated with respect. Locke's *Some Thoughts on Education* appeared in 1693. Pierre Coste translated it into French (Amsterdam, 1695). A Dutch version came out in Rotterdam two years later, and *Herrn Johann Locks Unterricht von Erziehung der Kinder* was published in Leipzig 1710. Wolff supported Locke's ideas in several of his *Vernünfftige Gedanken*. These ideas fell into the sphere of the "Erziehungsbestrebungen" of the moral weeklies. Bodmer and Gottsched in their journals both recommended the reading of Locke's *On Education*, as did also the Hamburg *Patriot*. These journals as well as others frequently discussed Locke's suggestions. Justus Möser and Basedow and still more consistently Pestalozzi put them into practice.[10]

A chief source of many ideas of Addison, Pope, and Thomson was Shaftesbury's *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times*, for so he styled his collected philosophical essays, which, though addressed to the polite rather than to the learned, still needed intermediaries before their message reached even the gentry. In Germany too his ideas became known to the general public only indirectly through Addison, Pope, and others; and so, although the earliest of his works, his *Inquiry Concerning Virtue*, was published in 1699, his name began to carry authority later than those of his English followers.

Anthony Ashley Cooper, third Earl of Shaftesbury, was born in Lon-

[9] *Op. cit.*, 98. Cf. Brown [411] 29. *Ibid.*, 33 f. Cf. *Discourse der Mahlern* I xx. Cf. Brown [411] 31.

[10] Brown [414].

don in 1760. It was once rumored that the marriage between his father and mother was arranged by John Locke. Certain it is that Locke was the director of the early education of the son. Following Locke's advice in *Thoughts concerning Education*, Shaftesbury learned languages by the direct method and at the age of eleven could converse in Latin and Greek with ease. Shaftesbury's philosophy however has bases quite different from Locke's. It is rather in harmony with that of Ralph Cudworth and the school of Cambridge Platonists. Shaftesbury spent the year 1618–1619 in Holland where he became acquainted with Le Clerc, Bayle, Benjamin Furly, a leading English Quaker, and several learned men with whom John Locke had associated nine years before.

Shaftesbury's *Characteristics* became known to French and German philosophers soon after its publication. In 1712 Leibniz received from his friend Pierre Coste a copy of the work. Leibniz was agreeably surprised and wrote to Coste:

Je n'avois crû trouver qu'une Philosophie semblable à celle de Mr. Lock: mais j'ay esté mené au dela de Platon et de Descartes. Si j'avois vû cet ouvrage avant la publication de ma *Théodicée* j'en aurois profité comme il faut, et m'en emprunté des grands passages.[11]

It is true the ultimate source of many of Shaftesbury's ideas is to be found in the works of the Greek philosophers, but his graceful and acceptable reformulations of Plato and Plotinus gave them new currency and his works were rather widely read by the German representatives of the age of humanity. Walzel says: "Die deutschen Denker vor Friedrich Schlegel und Schleiermacher haben Shaftesbury unvergleichlich besser gekannt als die beiden antiken Philosophen."[12]

Despite the favor of Leibniz, Shaftesbury's ideas failed to become assimilated into the body of the German philosophical system. The explainer, popularizer, disseminator, and systematizer of Leibniz's philosophy was Christian Wolff, but Shaftesbury's philosophy defied systematization. In the *Soliloquy or Advice to an Author* Shaftesbury observed in passing, "the most ingenious way to become foolish is by a system." Of the important philosophers of his generation only Mendelssohn seems to have accepted Shaftesbury's ideas and developed them further. Herder said the beautiful tone of Mendelssohn's *Briefe über die Empfindungen* was "ein jugendlich glücklicher Nachhall des englischen Philosophen."[13] According to a generally accepted report it was Lessing who first put a copy of Shaftesbury's work into Mendelssohn's hands,

[11] G. W. Leibniz. *Philosophische Schriften*, ed. C. J. Gerhardt, Berlin, 1887; III 429. Cf. Lessing, *Schriften*, VI 442.

[12] Walzel [543] xxx.

[13] Herder, *Werke*, X 306.

the reading of which led him to vie with Shaftesbury by writing his *Philosophische Gespräche*, 1755. *Pope ein Metaphysiker!* of the same year, written in collaboration with Lessing, and *Phädon*, 1767, testify to Mendelssohn's continued interest in Shaftesburian concepts.

Of the "Kunstrichter" Johann Ulrich König, author of the "Untersuchung von dem guten Geschmack in der Dicht- und Redekunst" (preface to his edition of the poems of Canitz 1727) was one of the first to study Shaftesbury's esthetics with profit, but among the followers of Wolff they found little favor. Baumgarten's *Aesthetica*, 1750, for example, pursues a course that brings it into no harmony with Shaftesbury's ideas.

With the theologians Shaftesbury fared still worse. The Abt Mosheim listed Shaftesbury along with St. Evremont as a wolf in sheep's clothing and therefore more dangerous to true Christianity than its outspoken enemies Spinoza, Toland, Passerani, and Tindal.[14]

It was with the German poets of the eighteenth century that Shaftesbury's ideas found appreciation. His conception of harmony in its cosmic aspects has already been discussed in connection with Haller and Brockes. During the 1740's Shaftesbury's ethical system became better known. Gellert's "Antrittsvorlesung," *Von dem Einßuß der schönen Wissenschaften auf das Herz und die Sitten*, 1741, opened the decade, and Spalding translated Shaftesbury's *Moralists* in 1745 and his *Inquiry Concerning Virtue or Merit* in 1747. Spalding's *Bestimmung des Menschen*, 1748, which also bore Shaftesbury's message, passed through many editions.

It has been observed that Shaftesbury's ideas received a warmer welcome in Germany than in England. In both countries, to be sure, he found opponents, for his philosophy had many facets which might easily offend the devout. A chief stumbling block was Shaftesbury's "test by ridicule." Even religion, he said, should be able to stand this test and he directed it toward the excesses of certain emotional sects. This led many pious souls to relegate Shaftesbury immediately to the seat of the scornful. One would hesitate to include Gellert among the scoffers, yet in his comedy, *Die Betschwester*, 1745, he ridicules religious ostentation in the manner suggested by Shaftesbury. It should be added that his work later caused its sensitive author some twinges of conscience, which led him to forswear all comedy thereafter.

It is possible that other influences played a role here. Shaftesbury was systematically expounded by Hutcheson, a pupil of Shaftesbury, and by Fordyce, a pupil of Hutcheson, but the latter two were at once more utilitarian and pious than their master. Hutcheson's *System of Moral*

[14] J. L. Mosheim, *Vorreden*, 1750, 412.

Philosophy, 1755, was translated by Lessing the following year as *Sittenlehre der Vernunft*. Fordyce's *Moral Philosophy*, 1754, was translated into French in 1756, and into German in 1757. Gellert's biographer, Cramer, wrote:

> Auch hatte er schon einigemal Fordycens Moral erklärt, die ihm vorzüglich gefiel, weil dieser Schriftsteller die Sittenlehre nach Hutchesons Grundsätzen aus der Empfindung des Guten und Schönen herleitete. Dieß aber that seinem Verlangen . . . noch keine Genüge. Er entschloß sich deswegen selbst besondere Vorlesungen über die Sittenlehre auszuarbeiten.[15]

The philosophies of Shaftesbury, Hutcheson, Fordyce, and of Gellert in his *Moralische Vorlesungen* are all expounded on similar plans, hence it is easy to find parallels. But Hutcheson and Fordyce depart from their master in many practical applications, and, where they diverge from him, Gellert is more frequently in harmony with them. Unlike Shaftesbury, all three of them concede to the moral sense a higher value than to the esthetic sense.

A chief theory of Shaftesbury was that a proper admixture of the two sets of affections and passions—"the natural Affections, which lead to the Good of the Publick [and the] Self-affections, which lead only to the Good of the Private"—determine whether a creature will be "virtuous or vicious, good or ill."[16] Both of these ideas are prominent in Lessing's *Minna von Barnhelm*. Minna applies the test of ridicule to Tellheim's offended honor and to his "crippled" condition, and ends by saying: "Und ist es meine Einrichtung, daß alle Übertreibungen des Lächerlichen so fähig sind?" Tellheim serves at the same time as an example of the overly unselfish individual.

Shaftesbury, Lessing, and the age in which they lived viewed literature teleologically. A common aim of the German publicists of the time was, "das Nützliche mit dem Angenehmen zu verbinden." Shaftesbury counted it as a prime merit of early Greek comedy that it ridiculed the "false sublime of the early poets."[17] Comedy was for him the most effectual and entertaining method of exposing "folly, pedantry, false reason, and ill writing."[18] Lessing seems to waver in regard to the question which was the primary aim of the comedy—to please or to improve. In his early letters to his parents he naturally stressed the moral values.[19] In his observations regarding the theories of Johann Elias Schlegel, he

[15] J. A. Cramer, *Christian Fürchtegott Gellerts Leben*, Leipzig, 1774, 109.
[16] Shaftesbury, *Characteristicks* . . ., London, 1727, II 86.
[17] *Ibid.*, I 246.
[18] *Ibid.*, I 259.
[19] Lessing, *Schriften*, XVII 16.

seems to make agreeableness primary, and improvement secondary. Contradictions might be pointed out within the limits of the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*. Lessing was by this time swayed by the didactic theory of Diderot. He was perhaps unaware of any self-contradiction. "Bessern sollen uns alle Gattungen der Poesie," Lessing wrote, but earlier he had declared that the dramatic poet has the advantage, "daß er weder nützlich noch angenehm, eines ohne das andere seyn kann."[20] In the *Dramaturgie* he does not cite Shaftesbury directly, but many parallelisms of phrase can be pointed out, and Lessing seems to have adopted or adapted essential and characteristic technical terms from Shaftesbury.[21]

Lessing was also indebted to Shaftesbury as a theorist in the field of pictorial art. In the course of his essay *A Notion of the Historical Draught or Tabulature of the Judgement of Hercules*, 1713, Shaftesbury recognized that pictorial art is limited to a moment of time and hence that the artist must choose the most fruitful moment. Thus he anticipated the chief practical tenet of *Laokoon* by many years.[22]

After Lessing's death Fritz Jacobi accused him of being a follower of Spinoza and the dialogue he published in evidence of the fact, if authentic, would prove his assertion. There is passing reference to Leibniz too in the dialogue but none whatever to Shaftesbury. Mendelssohn felt called upon to defend Lessing against Jacobi's charge and did so without, however, placing him in the camp of Shaftesbury.[23]

Lessing shared with Shaftesbury his optimistic view of the universe and the belief in the trend of mankind toward betterment. He believed with him that religion should not be accepted on authority, that a proper skepticism was the first step toward the approach to truth, and that religion and virtue were independent of each other. Adrast in *Der Freygeist* is described as without religion but "voller tugendhafter Gesinnungen." The tolerance of both Shaftesbury and Lessing had a similar rational basis.

In his *Advice to an Author* Shaftesbury had called the true poet "A second Maker, a just Prometheus under Jove," and had granted him the right to form a whole, "coherent and proportion'd in it-self with due Subjection and Subordinacy of constituent Parts." In the thirty-fourth number of the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, Lessing grants the same privilege to a genius ("es sei mir erlaubt, den Schöpfer ohne Namen durch sein edelstes Geschöpf zu bezeichnen"). To such a genius, he says, it is

[20] *Ibid.*, X 114 and XVII 16.
[21] Brewer [557].
[22] Rehorn [556].
[23] Biedermann, *Lessing Gespräche . . .*, Berlin, 1924, 222 ff.

permitted to create a world of his own differing from the natural world but with laws of its own, "deren Zufälligkeiten in einer anderen Ordnung verbunden [sind] als in dieser."

He in whom the egoistic cravings and altruistic social impulses were well balanced was not only good but happy, and happiness, according to Shaftesbury, was the triumph of goodness. To attain such a state the individual must put forth a conscious effort, and to succeed was to become a virtuoso in the art of life and to become aware of a joy that was of the visible and invisible world; and thus the two worlds were brought into a harmony that the previous centuries had distrusted, and joy came again into good repute.

Presently lyric poetry in Germany became rich in odes and verses addressed to "Freude," even to "Göttin Freude," most of which reproduced with nuances Shaftesbury's conception of happiness.[24] First among German poets to express this new conception was apparently Hagedorn. During his pleasant stay in London, 1729–1731, he sought to master the terminology of Shaftesbury and render it properly into German. In a letter to Gottsched, November, 1730, he disputed Dryden's definition of "humour" and favored Shaftesbury's as given in his essay on *The Freedom of Wit and Humour*.[25] To make the matter clearer he referred to the genealogy of humor as described in the thirty-fifth number of the *Spectator*. Truth was the founder of the family and the father of good sense. Good sense was the father of wit, who married a lady of collateral line called mirth by whom he had issue, humor. While Hagedorn's "Freude" corresponds rather closely to Shaftesbury's "enthusiasm," it also approaches in meaning, Hagedorn says, the Middle High German "vreude." Hagedorn's poem "An die Freude," 1744, begins:

> Freude, Göttin edler Herzen!
> Lass die Lieder, die hier schallen,
> Dich vergrößern, dir gefallen:
> Was hier tönet, tönt durch dich.[26]

"Freude" then was the source of his poetic inspiration. Similarly Shaftesbury, at the conclusion of his *Letter concerning Enthusiasm*, says: "Inspiration may justly be call'd divine enthusiasm."

Klopstock paid tribute to Hagedorn as the one who had given to "Freude" the new and nobler significance. "Wir Jünglinge sangen und

[24] Schultz [534].
[25] Th. W. Danzel, *Gottsched und seine Zeit*[2], Leipzig, 1855, 116.
[26] Hagedorn, *Werke*, III 33.

empfanden wie Hagedorn" ("Zürcher See," 1750) and Haller regretted: "Die lächelnde Freude aber habe ich nie gefühlt, die Hagedorn so lebhaft empfand und so angenehm abzumahlen wußte."[27] Herder wrote in *Adrastea,* 1803, that the spirit of Horace lived on in Shaftesbury, Hagedorn, and Uz.[28]

The esthetic and moral system of Shaftesbury is first clearly recognizable in Uz's poems, "Der standhafte Weise" and "Die Glückseligkeit," 1755. With modifications we find these ideas again in his *Théodicée* of 1755 and also in his didactic poem, *Versuch über die Kunst, stets fröhlich zu sein,* 1760, the motto to the first part of which was taken from Shaftesbury: "To enjoy is our Wisdom and our Duty! It is the great lesson of human life." Uz returned to the subject in his poem "Die Weisheit" and as late as 1768 in his poem "An die Freude."

The tendency of Ewald von Kleist was to personify "die Freude" of Klopstock and his school and to elevate her to the position of an inspiring muse.[29] Much that the youthful Schiller owed to Shaftesbury came through his lyric predecessors especially through Uz, whose "Dichtkunst" is closely related to Schiller's "Die Künstler," "Das eleusinische Fest," and "Die Macht des Gesangs"; and Schiller's "An die Freude" is similarly related to Uz's poem of like name. But of Schiller later.

Meanwhile we should mention the Graces, favored spirits of Anacreon and his seventeenth-century imitators. To them Shaftesbury gave a new significance. Since inward harmony with the universe was goodness, this harmony should express itself in countenance and bearing. The poets of Germany in the early eighteenth century have frequently been divided into two groups, the one worldly, the other spiritual. The classification is convenient here. Hagedorn is a good representative of the former group and his Graces appeal only by their physical charms. His models are to be found in the classic poets and their French imitators. The Graces of inward beauty can be first distinctly recognized in the *Freundschaftliche Lieder* of Pyra and Lange, which Bodmer edited in 1746, and to which he added a translation of three episodes from Thomson's *Seasons.* Bodmer, Pyra, and Lange, either directly or through Thomson, had obviously become impressed with Shaftesbury's spiritualized conception of grace and the Graces. Thus in the *Tempel der wahren Dichtkunst* we read: "Die Tugend und Natur und Anmuth folgten ihr [der Poesie] als wie drey Gratien mit fest verschlungenen Händen." Gleim and Uz, when they began writing at Halle, shared the more sensual or French conception of grace. Gleim in his long career never developed beyond this. Uz in his much briefer one approached Shaftesbury's ideal a little and the same is

[27] Haller, *Gedichte,* 404.
[28] Herder, *Werke,* XXIV 219.
[29] Schultz [534] 24 ff.

true of their companion Götz. After the manner of Lange and Pyra and of Thomson's *Lavinia*, which Bodmer translated, Götz lends in his *Attic*, 1747, to his simple mortal maidens the naive charms of spiritual origin, which Shaftesbury admires.[30]

Wieland wrote to Zimmermann in March, 1758: "Je vise au caractère du Virtuoso, que Shaftesbury peint si admirablement dans tous ses écrits: j'en suis bien éloigné encore, mais j'y vise pourtant."[31] In a long series of works beginning with his *Anti-Ovid*, 1752, and continuing through *Musarion oder die Philosophie der Grazien*, 1768, Wieland sought to make definite the perfect Shaftesburian balance. In his *Gespräch des Sokrates mit Timoclea*, 1754, he speaks of "moralische Gratien," a phrase obviously taken from Shaftesbury. In his *Theages*, 1755 ff., he was the first in Germany clearly to distinguish "Anmuth" from "Schönheit." At the beginning of his *Cyrus*, 1758–1759, he pairs Shaftesbury's name with Xenophon's:

> Zeige mir, O Wahrheit, von ihren Reitzen umgeben,
> Jene sittliche Venus, die einst dein Xenophon kannte,
> Und dein Ashley mit ihm, die Mutter des geistigen Schönen.

Again in the "Zuschrift" to *Araspes und Panthea*, 1760, he refers to some "Dämon . . . in die Gestalt der Muse Xenophons und der moralischen Venus verkleidet." Yet all this is merely symptomatic of his early readings. Especially in the *Gespräch des Sokrates* and in *Theages* the mystic and ascetic elements in the virtuous man are so overemphasized that Shaftesbury would have disowned him. In *Cyrus* and *Araspes und Panthea* Wieland comes closer to Shaftesbury's ideal.

Certain of Wieland's works written between 1768 and 1772 might be described as poetic versions of Shaftesbury's philosophy: his *Musarion*, *Die Grazien*, *Beyträge zur geheimen Geschichte des menschlichen Verstands und Herzens* and *Der goldene Spiegel;* also his *Aristippe*, 1800 and above all his *Agathon*, begun in 1766. If Shaftesbury had attempted to expound his philosophy in the form of a novel he must needs have written just such a book as this, in which the truth-seeking Agathon by dint of passing through diverse experiences attains to moral beauty, harmony with the universe, and perfect balance, and becomes what Shaftesbury would call a real true gentleman. But this *milieu* theory was un-Shaftesburian. Wieland felt this himself, and after some wavering in his second edition, 1773, he adopted fully in the final version, 1794, Shaftesbury's conception of man as the free determiner of his own fate.[32]

[30] Pomezny [529] 138.
[31] Wieland, *Briefe*, I 259.
[32] Groß [566].

In his criticism of Jacobi, Wieland constantly assumes Shaftesbury as a standard. He wrote to Riedel, October 26, 1768:

Sagen Sie ihm [Jacobi] gelegentlich, daß ich zwey Drittel meiner Gedichte darum geben möchte, seine *Vestale* un seine *Venus im Bade* gemacht zu haben. Sie erreichen, nach meinem Begriffe, das schönste Ideal, das ein Dichter, vom Anblick der Shaftesburyschen Venus selbst begeistert, zu denken, zu fühlen und anzuschauen fähig seyn kann.[33]

and in a later letter to Jacobi, June 1769, he urges him to continue to present the charms of the Shaftesburian Graces:

Und seyn Sie versichert, daß Sie sich dadurch um die glücklichen Seelen, denen die Natur feines Gefühl für das, was Shaftesbury "the moral Venus and the moral graces" nennt, gegeben hat, ein unendlich größeres Verdienst machen werden, als durch die tragischste Tragödie von der Welt.[34]

In 1788 Wieland observed that if he were permitted to read only three authors he would choose Homer, Shakespeare, and Shaftesbury.[35] Wieland told Henry Crabb Robinson in 1802 that to Shaftesbury he owed his culture more than to any other writer.[36] At the time of Wieland's death, Goethe, who knew both men well said:

An einem solchen Manne [wie Shaftesbury] fand nun unser Wieland nicht einen Vorgänger, dem er folgen, nicht einen Genossen, mit dem er arbeiten sollte, sondern einen wahrhaften älteren Zwillingsbruder im Geiste, dem er vollkommen glich, ohne nach ihm gebildet zu sein.[37]

When we seek to define the ideas held in common by Shaftesbury, Herder, Goethe, and Schiller we become involved in a complex of concepts held also by a long line of philosophers, including among others Plato, Plotinus, Giordano Bruno, Jakob Böhme, Spinoza, and Leibniz. Dilthey has presented evidence that Herder and Goethe received the tradition through Shaftesbury rather than Spinoza, while Franz Koch insists on the importance of Plotinus.[38]

Avoiding at the outset a controversial subject, we may refer with some security to a Shaftesburian symbol that was early echoed by Herder and Goethe. Herder in 1767 and again in 1769 called a poet "ein zweiter Prometheus,"[39] as Shaftesbury had.[40] Indirectly the same picture is re-

[33] *Auswahl denkwürdiger Briefe von C. M. Wieland*, ed. Ludwig Wieland, Wien, 1815, I 225.
[34] Wieland, *Briefe*, II 319.
[35] Anzeiger des *Teutschen Merkurs*, March 1788, xxxi.
[36] Robinson, *Diary*, I 123.
[37] Goethe, *Werke*, I (36) 323.
[38] Dilthey [542]; Koch [547].
[39] Herder, *Werke*, I 256, III 103.
[40] Shaftesbury, I 207.

called in his *Shakespeare* and in a letter to Gerstenberg which preceded it.[41] Herder read Shaftesbury and quoted him from the original as early as 1767.[42]

In his *Journal meiner Reise im Jahre 1769,* Herder makes a passing reference to Shaftesbury,[43] but neither on his journey nor in his darkened room at the Hotel zum Geist in Strassburg can it be supposed that he read Shaftesbury attentively, but from Bückeburg, June 8, 1771, he wrote to Caroline: "Er [Wieland] und ein Engländer Shaftesburi sind die Hauptschriftsteller, mit denen ich jetzt lebe," and two weeks later he wrote to her of lonely walks in the woods beginning at four in the morning, and added: "Sonst habe ich Einen Engländer Shaftesburi sehr lieb, mein Mitgefährte im Walde."[44] It is known that Herder planned in 1775 a "Parallele der drei Männer Spinoza, Shaftesbury, Leibniz." Of this only the first part was finished as planned, but the remainder eventually went into other works, chiefly into his *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit.* In 1775 Herder translated into Alcaic verse Shaftesbury's paean to nature, but first published it in 1800 as an appendix to his *Gott: einige Gespräche.*

Herder called Shaftesbury "jener liebenswürdige Plato Europens." The art of composing dialogues, which he had learned from Plato, he passed on to Diderot and he declared Shaftesbury's *Moralists* to be "die schönste Metaphysik, die je gedacht wurde."[45]

The numerous tenets of agreement between Herder and Shaftesbury have been discovered and defined by several critics. There were of course differences of views as well, partly to be accounted for by their different status. Herder's ideal man was not Shaftesbury's "etwas lordmäßiger" virtuoso[46]—for Herder felt that law and duty, regardless of pleasure, should serve as guides through life—but his admiration for Shaftesbury continued. In a letter to his son, August 1798, Herder speaks of Shaftesbury's "Rhapsody on Nature" as a passage "welche die Spinozaisch-Leibnizische Philosophie im schönsten und erlesenensten Auszug enthält." Haym comments on this: "und diese im Geiste Shaftesburys gefaßte, mit Shaftesbury gefühlte und in Poesie umgesetzte Philosophie war seine eigene Philosophie."[47]

[41] *Ibid.*, V 219 and V 239.
[42] *Ibid.*, I 305.
[43] *Ibid.*, I 367.
[44] *Herders Briefwechsel,* XXXIX (1926) 232 and 245.
[45] Herder, *Werke,* V 490, I 182 and Moreland [539].
[46] *Ibid.*, XI 123.
[47] Haym, *Herder,* Berlin, 1880, II 209.

Strangely enough Goethe seems not to have mentioned Shaftesbury's name until 1813 when he spoke at the "Totenfeier" of Wieland, but there is evidence enough of Goethe's early acquaintance with the English philosopher. In 1774 Goethe wrote in Ludwig Schneider's autograph album an epigram of Shaftesbury: "The most ingenious way of becoming foolish is by a system."

It was through Herder that the Prometheus symbol first began to take possession of Goethe's imagination. The concept comes out clearly in Goethe's *Zum Schäkespears Tag*, 1771. "Er wetteiferte mit dem Prometheus, bildete ihm Zug für Zug seine Menschen nach."[48] The idea of a poet as a second creator appealed to the poets of the "Sturm und Drang" period and passed into their ritual. Soon the poet was not merely a demigod but was a peer of the gods themselves; Goethe's "Prometheus" exalts the poet above Zeus.

It was not until 1776 that Goethe began a serious study of Shaftesbury. Goethe soon advanced beyond Herder, whom he called into consultation a little later. What interested him most at this point was Shaftesbury's conception of inner form, the living spirit of a work of art that should be allowed to determine every detail of its corporal make-up. Particularly Shaftesburian is the conception of nature as an artist. To her the Swiss poet Tobler sang a paean, published in the *Journal von Tiefurt*, 1782–1783:

> Sie ist die einzige Künstlerin: aus dem simpelsten Stoff zu den größten Kontrasten; ohne Schein der Anstrengung zu der größten Vollendung—zur genausten Bestimmtheit . . . Sie spielt ein Schauspiel; . . . Ihr Schauspiel ist immer neu, weil sie immer neue Zuschauer schafft.

It was long the custom to cite this poem as evidence of Goethe's progress toward Shaftesbury's philosophy of nature. The fact was overlooked that Goethe wrote to Knebel, soon after its appearance: "Der Aufsatz ist nicht von mir."[49] Thirty-five years later he wrote to Kanzler von Müller that he could not definitely remember having written the poem, but admitted: "Diese Betrachtungen . . . stimmen mit den Vorstellungen wohl überein, zu denen sich mein Geist damals ausgebildet hatte."[50] It must be added that later critics have doubted whether Goethe's memory was serving him accurately even in this admission,[51] but it is known that Goethe had conversations with Tobler in Weimar at the time the poem was being written, and Goethe was doubtless interested in the analogy of the operations of art and nature.

[48] Goethe, *Werke*, I (37) 129 f.
[49] *Ibid.*, IV (6) 104; letter of March 3, 1783.
[50] *Ibid.*, II (11) 10; letter of May 24, 1828.
[51] Cf. Hering in JGG, XIII (1927) 125 f., and Schultz [548] 89.

During the winter of 1784–1785 Goethe began the study of Spinoza. A hasty reading satisfied him. Few biographers repeat the assertion now that Goethe was a Spinozist. Dilthey, Boucke, and Walzel have disproved this abundantly. Walzel agrees with Dilthey: "Strenger Spinozist ist er nie geworden, auch nicht Spinozist Leibnizscher Observanz," and he added: "Goethe bleibt im Wesentlichen Shaftesbury näher als Spinoza."[52] Goethe's reflections after reading Spinoza are set forth in his "Philosophische Studie," 1784–1785. When Goethe deviates from Spinoza, he inclines toward Shaftesbury. The question may remain open as to whether this is because of his own preconceived opinion, whether he was influenced directly by Shaftesbury, or indirectly through conversations with Herder, whose *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*, 1784–1791, and *Gott: einige Gespräche*, 1787, are based on the same conception of the relation of nature and art as those fundamental to Goethe's "Philosophische Studie," 1784–1785.

The Italian journey and the conversations with Karl Philipp Moritz brought Goethe a step further. Spinoza's and Herder's ideas were taken into consideration, but Shaftesbury dominated. Moritz developed his theory of the "Mittelpunkt" upon the basis of Shaftesbury. Goethe was essentially in agreement with Moritz. Shaftesbury had said "all beauty is truth." It follows from this that neither the artist nor the scientist should be content to concentrate on the individual phenomenon in isolation. In harmony with this conception of nature and art there dawned upon Goethe what Schiller called, "eine große und wahrhaft heldenmäßige Idee." Schiller added: "Sie nehmen die ganze Natur zusammen um über das Einzelne Licht zu bekommen. In der Allheit ihrer Erscheinungsarten suchen Sie den Erklärungsgrund für das Individuum auf."[53]

The last element in Goethe's esthetic and scientific system was offered by Kant's *Kritik der Urteilskraft*, 1790, in which he recognized the right of art and science to exist side by side "wohl für einander aber nicht absichtlich wegen einander." In a letter to Zelter, January 29, 1830, Goethe recognized as "ein grenzenloses Verdienst unseres alten Kant um die Welt, und ich darf auch sagen um mich . . . [daß er] Kunst und Natur kräftig nebeneinander stellt und beiden das Recht zugesteht, aus großen Prinzipien zwecklos zu handeln."[54]

So we may say that from about 1790 to the end of his life Goethe's esthetic philosophy remained fundamentally the same, and fundamentally, though not exclusively, Shaftesburian. His ideas are to be found most systematically expressed in the introduction to the *Propyläen*, 1797–

[52] Walzel [543] xxxix.
[53] Schiller, *Briefe*, III 472.
[54] Goethe, *Werke*, IV (26) 223.

1799, and in several essays contained therein;[55] less definitely, but not less certainly, in his lyric poetry, as when, in his "Zueignung," he lets the poet receive "der Dichtung Schleier aus der Hand der Wahrheit."

Notable scholars have sought in vain to define even approximately the extent of Goethe's indebtedness to Shaftesbury. Goethe himself would have been hard put to estimate it. The trinity of the good, the beautiful, and the true had become, by the time of his maturity the accepted orthodox belief of the enlightened. His view of Shaftesbury is clearly sketched in his speech of February 18, 1813, "Zu brüderlichem Andenken Wielands."[56] The contemporary notations in his diary of January 28–31, 1813, "Shaftesburys Werke,"[57] throw little further light on the question.

Like Shaftesbury, Goethe felt a distrust of the masses. Soliloquy with himself in one form or another was a part of his technique of poetic composition. He agreed with Shaftesbury in regard to the relation of the poet to nature. He would have served Shaftesbury as an example of the virtuoso. In his maturity Goethe attained to a proper balance of the selfish and altruistic impulses and hence to a poise of Olympic calm. This stage of approach to the second golden age Goethe did not achieve without youthful struggles to adapt himself to nature and society. That he finally succeeded was due in greater part to his native endowment of "Frohnatur" and "des Lebens ernsten Führens."

Not so many years ago it was the custom to express Schiller's relation to Shaftesbury in a simple formula. Schiller, it was said, was to some extent under the influence of Shaftesbury in his younger days but was converted from Shaftesbury's eudaemonism to Kant's categorical imperative. This statement is misleading. Schiller began to study philosophy at the Karlsschule. What he knew about Shaftesbury he owed to intermediaries, to his teacher Abel, to the works of Sulzer and Mendelssohn, and to Shaftesbury's interpreters, Hutcheson and Ferguson, who stressed the ethical rather than the esthetic side of Shaftesbury's philosophy. In the *Philosophische Briefe*, 1786, there is almost no reference to Shaftesbury; at most, such a phrase as "gut aus Instinkt, aus unentweihter sittlicher Grazie," is suggestive of him, but Walzel says:

> Vor 1788 hat er ihn sicher nicht gelesen, auch später wohl nur aus zweiter oder dritter Hand seine Anschauungen vermittelt erhalten. Wieland vielleicht oder Herder oder K. Ph. Moritz mag es zu danken sein, daß die Abhandlung *Über Anmut und Würde*, 1793, Shaftesburys Geist am reinsten widerspiegelt.[58]

The assertion of this late first study may find some confirmation in a letter of Schiller to Charlotte von Beulwitz of November 27, 1788. "Den

[55] *Ibid.*, I (47) 11 ff.
[56] *Ibid.*, I (36) 312–346.
[57] *Ibid.*, III (5) 11.
[58] Walzel [559] xi.

Shaftesbury freue ich mich einmal zu genießen, vielleicht ist das ein Geschäft für den Sommer."[59]

Schiller's philosophic system began to bear a freer message about this time. Friedrich Ludwig von Stolberg had attacked "Die Götter Griechenlands" from a narrowly Christian viewpoint. With the help of the Scottish interpreters of Shaftesbury, who applied the measuring rod of social utility, Schiller was able to demonstrate in "Die Künstler," 1789, the value of art to man. But he had begun to read Kant recently on the development of the human race. Wolff and Leibniz had found in the perception of beauty a species of "verworrener Erkenntnis," which was a first step toward "deutlicher Erkenntnis," and Schiller was also in touch with Wieland, who was less utilitarian in his view of beauty than the Scottish authorities. So it came about that in its final version "Die Künstler" regarded beauty not only as a means of human improvement, but as an end in itself.

It is possible that even at the time of writing the essay *Über Anmut und Würde*, 1793, Schiller knew Shaftesbury chiefly through his British and German interpreters, but it is certain that his idea of a "schöne Seele" is close to Shaftesbury's concept of inner harmony. It was with the help of Kant's esthetic theory that Schiller made the distinction between "Anmut" and "Würde." "Anmut" is the passive state of the "schöne Seele." "Würde" is its state at the blissful moment when duty presents itself and is met by inclination.

Über Anmut und Würde was an attempt to reconcile Shaftesbury's eudaemonistic ideal with Kant's categorical imperative, and gave offense to Wieland and Herder, who felt Shaftesbury's pure doctrine was compromised thereby and who branded Schiller a follower of Kant. They overlooked the fact that Schiller regarded the rule of the imperative as a step only toward a second golden age. Schiller demanded, like Shaftesbury, that man should contemplate the harmony of the universe and find inner joy in making himself a part of this harmony. Kant was in error in associating Shaftesbury's eudaemonism with the lower sensual pleasures. Despite certain agreements of Schiller with Kant, he broke with him on this supposition. As Cassierer has recently said:

> All seine Einwände gegen [Kants] Rigorismus stammen im Grunde aus dieser Quelle: Schillers Ideal der "schönen Seele" ruht auf Shaftesburys Begriff der sittlichen Anmut ("moral grace"), in der der wahre sittliche Adel gegründet ist. Von der Abhandlung *Über Anmut und Würde* bis zu den *Briefen über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen* ist dies das durchgehende Motiv von Schillers Philosophie. In diesem Sinne ist Schiller ein Anhänger und Verehrer Shaftesburys geblieben, auch nachdem ihm Kant völlig neue Wege gewiesen hatte.[60]

[59] Schiller, *Briefe*, II 163. [60] Cassierer [560] 51.

Such differences of opinion seem slight after the lapse of more than a century and it now appears that Shaftesbury, Wieland, Herder, and Goethe were heralds of a second golden age which was well on its way when the advent of materialism forestalled it.

Chapter VIII

MILTON'S *PARADISE LOST*

The opinions of Addison and the poetry of Pope filtered into Germany from many sides; Thomson's new poetry had other and adroiter advocates in Germany than Brockes; but John Milton owed almost his whole early reputation and influence in Germany, directly or indirectly, to Bodmer of Zürich. It is true, Bodmer's translation of *Paradise Lost* was not the first effort of its kind in Germany. As early as 1678 an acquaintance of Milton, Theodore Haake, sent to two of his friends a manuscript copy of his translation of the first three books.[1] One of the recipients, Johann Sebald Fabricius, merely made a polite acknowledgement: "Incredible est quantum nos affecerit gravitas stili et copia lectissimorum verborum."[2] The other, Gottlieb von Berge, was inspired to unsuccessful emulation with Haake. After that, however, Milton's work was relegated for a time to the standard books of reference. Daniel Morhof mentions as its chief peculiarity the lack of rhyme: "Plena ingenii et acuminis sunt, sed insuavia tamen videntur ob rhythmi defectum, quem ego abesse a tali carminum genere non posse existimo."[3] In 1690 Hog's Latin translation of *Paradise Lost* appeared, which made it accessible, to the learned class at least, everywhere, including many who could not read English. The prevailing literary contest of the time had its local counterpart in Hamburg and the adherents of the high-baroque school could plausibly claim the sanction of Milton. Yet not only Heinrich Postel, the leader of this group, but also Christian Wernicke, his opponent, spoke favorably of Milton.[4]

Another Hamburg poet interested in Milton was Bartold Heinrich Brockes. His partial translations first appeared in 1740. They were however probably written much earlier, perhaps before 1731, when, under the influence of his friends of the "Teutschübende Gesellschaft," König, Richey, and Triewald, or of the English moral weeklies, he was turning away from Marino to the plainer English writers, Cowley, Milton, and Pope. Bodmer, in his *Betrachtungen über die poetischen Gemälde*, 1741, first called attention to reminiscences of Milton in Brockes's work. Milton's epic may have appealed to Brockes as a compromise between

[1] Brandl [417] and Bolte [418].
[2] Bentham, *Engelländischer Kirchen- und Schulenstaat*, 1732, 116.
[3] Morhof, *Polyhistor . . .*, Lübeck, 1708, I 329; cf. Morhof, *Unterricht von der teutschen Sprache und Poesie . . .*, Kiel, 1682, 568 f.
[4] Postel in the introduction and notes to his *Listige Juno*, 1700, Wernicke in his *Poetischer Versuch*, 1704. Cf. Pechel, *Christian Wernigkes Epigramme;* Palaestra, LXXI (1902) 492; and Eichler [364].

Marino's pomp and the plainer English style, as Brockes's editor, Weichmann, suggests,[5] but recent critics agree that such English influences were not deep reaching.

Before 1740, however, the name of Milton was well known in Germany. Bodmer published his first version of *Paradise Lost* in 1732, eight years after completing it. On its appearance Gottsched, who was then ostensibly on friendly terms with the Swiss scholars, reviewed it indulgently, pronouncing it in fact superior to the original and criticizing only the Swiss dialect forms.[6] It was a prose translation, later often revised. Bodmer himself said his first translation was Swiss, his second, 1742, German, and his third, 1754, poetic,[7] but by this last he meant only that the diction was poetic, for like its predecessors it was in prose. The third edition was based on the well-annotated edition of Thomas Newton which Bodmer had received from the hands of Hagedorn shortly before. Bodmer's choice of prose was deliberate, and was approved also by König, who was acquainted with the earlier verse translations of Hamburg. König wrote to Bodmer in 1725: "Ihre Übersetzung in Prosa ist weit natürlicher."[8] Bodmer looked with disfavor on an attempt by his friend Grynaeus to publish a translation of *Paradise Lost* in hexameters.[9] Zachariä published a hexametric translation of *Paradise Lost*, begun in 1760, but in the "Vorbericht" to the second volume he indicated that he would have translated into blank verse, had he not found it beyond his ability to do so.[10] Blank verse afforded him too little room; the result showed that hexameters afforded too much room, making the pace slow and ponderous. In 1793 Samuel Gottlieb Bürde succeeded in producing a rather satisfactory blank-verse translation by using a greater number of lines than Milton.

It cannot be maintained that Bodmer first learned of Milton through the pages of the *Spectator*, for the essays on Milton were lacking in the French edition of the journal, 1718, which he brought back with him from his Italian trip;[11] he did not come into the possession of an English edition of the *Spectator* until 1724, shortly after the completion of his translation of *Paradise Lost*.[12] Neither is it true that he first knew Mil-

[5] In the introduction to Brockes's *Der bethlehemitische Kindermord*. Cf. Brandl, *B. H. Brockes* . . ., Innsbruck, 1878, 35, 46, 100.

[6] *Beyträge zur kritischen Historie* . . ., 2tes Stück (1732) 290–303.

[7] Letter of Bodmer to Zellweger, January 27, 1754, quoted by Bodmer [429] 198. Crüger [307] xvii erroneously quotes Bodmer: "erst die dritte (1780) poetisch," while Muncker [439]^{2} 127 says: "erst die vierte vom Jahre 1759 poetisch." The edition of 1759 was, however, a mere repetition of that of 1754.

[8] Brandl [417] 461.

[9] Küry [847].

[10] Purdie [149] 196.

[11] "Bodmers persönliche Anekdoten" in *Züricher Taschenbuch*, 1892, 102.

[12] Bodmer [429] 183.

ton's work in French translation, for this did not appear until 1729.[13] However, there had been frequent earlier references to Milton in the French journals and a detailed account of *Paradise Lost* in the Amsterdam *Journal littéraire* as early as 1717.[14]

Bodmer himself indicated in the preface to his first version of *Paradise Lost*, 1732, that his Italian friends had first awakened his interest in the epic. These were chiefly Muratori, "who opened the eyes of Bodmer and . . . Breitinger to the immense significance of Milton for the liberation of the poetic imagination" and Calepio "who taught him that the dicta of French classicism were by no means incontrovertible dogmas."[15]

Whatever may have first kindled Bodmer's interest, we know that on May 30, 1723, he wrote to his friend Zellweger asking about Milton and received from him in August or thereabouts, a copy of *Paradise Lost*, presumably the Tonson edition of 1688. Thereupon he retired to his country house at Greifensee and fell upon his prize. He professed to have read it with the help of a Latin-English dictionary. He translated first the eighth book, in which Adam related to the angel Raphael the story of his life, then the first four books, and sent them all to Breitinger for his approval before the end of the year.[16] The remaining books were finished the following year, but publication was delayed by the censors. From Zürich Füssli wrote to his friend Huber in St. Gallen in 1725:

> Es ist hier ein Hr. Bodmer . . ., welcher des verrühmten Miltons *Carmen heroicum de paradiso perdito* in Englisch beschrieben in das Deutsche in ungebundener Rede übersetzt, es hat sollen hier gedrukt werden, die geistlichen Censores aber sehen es für eine allzu Romantische Schrifft an in einem so heiligen themate; es ist etwas extra Hohes und Pathetisches, aber nicht recht, daß man es nicht gestattet hat, in druk zu geben.[17]

Bodmer tells the same story: "Als ich einige Fragmente davon den bestallten Censores übergab, war die Schreibart ihnen böhmisch, der Inhalt Legende und Romane."[18] Bodmer was equally unsuccessful in his attempt to find a publisher in Hamburg and Dresden. It was a Zürich firm, Marcus Rordorf, that eventually undertook the publication in 1732, the opposition of the "geistlichen Censores" having now been overcome.

Earlier comments upon Milton in the German journals had merely reflected discussions in the French journals of 1727–1729. The essay on

[13] Either by Dupré de Saint Maur or Boismaraud or both. See J. F. Telleen, *Milton dans la littérature française*, Paris, 1904, 25.
[14] *Loc. cit.*, IX (1717) 157–216.
[15] Robertson [420] 332.
[16] Bodmer [429] 182, 185, 198. M. Bernay's *Zur Literaturgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1898, 84.
[17] Vetter [215] 6 and Jenny [419] 21.
[18] "Bodmers persönliche Anekdoten" . . ., 103.

Milton, which had been lacking in the earlier French *Spectateur*, was translated into French by Dupré de Saint-Maur, Paris, 1727. Voltaire in his *Essai sur la poésie épique*, 1728, attacked Milton from a rationalistic point of view, as did also Constantin de Magny in his *Dissertation critique sur le Paradis perdu*, 1729. Gottsched was naturally influenced by critics of this type. At first he withheld public condemnation, but in a personal letter to Bodmer, Oct. 7, 1732, he wrote diplomatically that he was desirous of seeing Bodmer's promised work in defense of Milton, and would like to know by what rules "eine so regellose Einbildungskraft als des Miltons seine war, entschuldiget werden kann."[19] It was quite natural that Bodmer should quote Addison in his defense.[20] Thus began a literary debate which lasted a decade. To be sure it often appears that Haller was the chief bone of contention rather than Milton, with whose name his is frequently linked. Under the guise of the Milton controversy, Gottsched and Bodmer were in reality pamphleteering regarding the respective merits of the Saxon and the Swiss poets. At the outset Gottsched commanded the best talent in Germany. The trend of the times was against him, however. The enthusiastic newer generation of writers triumphed over the rationalistic school, and when the *Messias* appeared in 1748 it was clear that Gottsched had lost the campaign. Among the earlier adherents of Milton, and so of Bodmer, was Immanuel Pyra. The concepts of Milton's *Paradise Lost* and even its phraseology, come to the surface again in his poems *Der Tempel der wahren Dichtkunst*, in "Die Sündfluth," and "Das Wort des Höchsten."[21]

It was Bodmer's translation of Milton's epic that first inspired Klopstock, a student at Schulpforta. He took leave of his school in 1745 with a speech on the epic poets, which indicated his plan to produce a work in the German language worthy of a place beside the epics of Vergil, Tasso, Milton, and Fénélon. By the year 1747 three "Gesänge" of his *Messias* were completed and offered to the *Bremer Beyträge*. The editors hesitated at first, then asked for advice. Hagedorn expressed himself cautiously but Bodmer gave his approval, May 1747, declaring that the spirit of Milton had descended on the young poet.[22] Soon after, Klopstock wrote to Bodmer, describing the impression that Milton first made upon him:

[19] Quoted by Crüger [317] lvii.

[20] *Die kritische Abhandlung von dem Wunderbaren in der Poesie und dessen Verbindung mit dem Wahrscheinlichen, in einer Vertheidigung des Gedichtes Joh. Miltons von dem Verlorenen Paradiese; der beygefüget ist Joseph Addisons Abhandlung von den Schönheiten in demselben Gedichte.* Zürich, 1740.

[21] Lange and Pyra, *Freundschaftliche Lieder . . .*, 1747, ed. Sauer. In DLD, XXII (1885) xxxv–xliv.

[22] Muncker [439]^{2} 70 f.

Als vollends Milton, den ich ohne ihre Übersetzung viel zu spät kennen gelernt hätte, mir unversehens in die Hände fiel, da blies er in meinem Innern das Feuer an, das Homer schon entzündet hatte, und hob meine Seele zum Himmel und zur religiösen Dichtung empor.[23]

Bodmer later elaborated this report:

Die ersten Reden, die er davon führete, nachdem er wieder zu sich selber gekommen war, wiewol er noch immer zurük sah, lauteten von neuen, unbekannten Gegenden, in welche der Poet ihn geführet, von seltenen, hohen Bekanntschaften, die er ihm verschaffet, von dem Reichthum der Ideen und der Empfindungen, den er ihm mitgetheilt hätte. Es ist wahr, sagte er, ich hatte vordem einige dunkle Spuren auf einem unbetretenen Boden gesehen, und etliche Züge dieser herrlichen Scenen erbliket: Aber hier fand ich sie in ihrem vollen Lichte vor mir offen ligen. Vielleicht hätte ich einmal den Weg auf diesem ungebahnten Gefilde fortgesezet, und hätte vielleicht bis in die himmlischen Gegenden durchgebrochen, welche Milton mir gezeiget hat, wenn ein ehrfurchtvoller Schauer mich nicht zurükgezogen hätte. Aber nachdem Milton den Eingang in dieses Heiligthum der Geisteswelt eröffnet hat, nachdem er mich hineingeführet hat, so darf ich künftig mit kühnen Füßen darinnen herumwandeln.[24]

Contemporary critics joined with Bodmer in dubbing Klopstock "the German Milton," Cramer as early as 1749,[25] Ebert in 1760,[26] with praise that seemed faint to Wieland,[27] and Herder as late as 1797.[28] Gerstenberg deprecated the title in accordance with his theory of original genius.[29] Later critics have perpetuated the comparison despite the fact that Milton's work was epic while Klopstock's was essentially lyric.

Nevertheless, the comparison was almost inevitable.[30] The two works are both dithyrambic in tone and like the swell of a great organ, but here too Klopstock's composition must yield to Milton's. Klopstock began with a diapason note that he could not long sustain and could never transcend. Milton prepared for effective climaxes, then let his themes die out in soothing, tranquil cadences. Klopstock's work, in fact, was never planned as a whole. The first three "Gesänge" roused the throng to the pitch of exalted enthusiasm in 1748 but the last echoes died away almost unnoticed in 1773 in the midst of the "Sturm und Drang" period.

When Bodmer offered to Klopstock the hospitality of his home in 1750 it was with a double purpose; he wished to afford him leisure and freedom to complete his work, but he also hoped, in return, for aid in his own epic, his *Noah*, which he had begun under the inspiration of *Paradise Lost*. A

[23] Tr. A. Köster, *Klopstock und die Schweiz*, Leipzig, 1923, 30. The original is in Latin.

[24] Bodmer, *Neue critische Briefe*, 15 f.; quoted by Pizzo [421] 35.

[25] *Sammlung vermischter Schriften von den Verfassern der neuen Bremischen Beyträge*, 5. Stück (1749) 347, and J. H. Cramer, *Sämtliche Gedichte*, Leipzig, 1783, III 261.

[26] Ebert, *Episteln und vermischte Gedichte*, Hamburg, 1795, II, Anhang 73–82.

[27] Wieland, *Briefe*, I 5. Letter to Bodmer of October 29, 1751, but see letter to Zimmermann of November 1758, *ibid.*, I 306 and 315.

[28] See p. 35, above.

[29] NDL, CXXVIII (1904) 60.

[30] Muncker [439]^2 117–128 and Hübler [440].

full record of Bodmer's verbal indebtedness to Milton would make a long and uninteresting account.[31] Bodmer made no effort to conceal his borrowings, indeed, like Milton, Bodmer rather gloried in the profit he had derived from his readings.[32] It is true that there are striking points of resemblance in the content of the two epics, but these should not lead us to hasty conclusions. If Bodmer sings the praise of liberty and the simple life, and the beauties of virtue and friendship,[33] so too did Thomson in England, Haller in Switzerland, and Hagedorn in Germany.[34] In his idyllic pictures Bodmer will best stand comparison with his master; in the creation of epic characters he failed notably.

Bodmer's opinion of *Paradise Lost* never changed. In the introduction to the third edition of his translation, 1754, he says: "Wir sind überzeugt, wer wahren Geschmack und einiges Genie hat, wird dieses Gedicht für das Beste unter den Werken der Neuern erkennen." But while he was at work on editions of his translation in rapid sequence 1732–1780, and while successive "Gesänge" of Klopstock's *Messias* were appearing, 1748–1773, new men were coming to the fore in German literature, and popular taste was passing through successive phases. To show how the representative critics referred to Milton is to unfold a picture of the changing standards of the times.[35] In endowing God and the angels with visible physical form, Milton, as Voltaire pointed out, had involved his epic in incongruities. Bodmer rushed to Milton's aid with theoretical defenses that happily deceived himself and his time, for what really concerned him was not the consistency of Milton, or even the abstract justification of "das Wunderbare in der Poesie," but the freedom of the religious imagination. The seraphic element impelled him to translation, but he ventured to imitate Milton only in the patriarchal-idyllic realm. In *Die Noachide*, *Jakob und Joseph*, *Jakob und Rahel* he participated in the romantic "Weltflucht" of the day. Gessner, in his *Der Tod Abels*, 1758, was a follower of Bodmer in this respect.

It was in fact the idyllic element which evoked admiration and challenged imitation beyond the frontiers of Switzerland. Schiller mentioned Milton's picture of life in the garden of Eden as the most beautiful of sentimental idylls.[36] The situation of Eve seeing herself for the first time mirrored in the waters of the lake, reappears in Bodmer's "Pygmalion und Elise" and in Wieland's "Zemin und Gulhindy." The scene in which

[31] Cf. Ibershoff [432] and [433].
[32] Bodmer in *Das verlorene Paradies*[2], 1742, 471, defends Milton's display of erudition; quoted by Ibershoff [432] 597.
[33] Ibershoff [628] 216.
[34] See p. 74, above.
[35] See Pizzo [421].
[36] Schiller, *Werke*, XVII 540.

Satan gazes with envious eyes upon the first pair of happy human beings was imitated by Bodmer in his patriarchal epics. The bower of Adam and Eve appeared in Klopstock's *Messias*, and it became a bridal bower in his *Der Tod Adams*, 1757. The bower came to view again in the poetry of Ebert, Ramler, Giseke, Herder, Voss, Hölty, Wieland, Gerstenberg, Maler Müller, and Stolberg.[37] The description of the sunrise also appealed to the poets. Gleim wrote on January 16, 1762: "Man gebe mir zehn Poeten, die alle die aufgehende Sonne beschrieben haben, ich will die herausfinden, die ihre Beschreibung aus dem Milton nahmen."[38] This motif, it may be here noted, was not original with Milton but was taken from the *Lucifer* of Joost van den Vondel, along with many other episodes, descriptions, situations, and characters.[39]

Soon after came the period of Winckelmann, which looked to ancient Greece for infallible standards of art and failed to find in *Paradise Lost* "edle Einfalt und stille Größe," despite the classical elements. Mendelssohn agreed with Winckelmann and classified Milton with Klopstock among the "seraphische Dichter," to whom the *Literaturbriefe* took such strong exception.[40] *Paradise Lost* served Lessing as an example in support of one of his chief contentions in *Laokoon: "Das verlorene Paradies* ist darum nicht weniger die erste Epopee nach dem Homer, weil es wenig Gemählde liefert."[41] When Herder speaks of Homer, Ossian, and Milton as the great epic poets, he obviously has an individual definition of the word epic. He is thinking probably not so much of form as of mythological content. Milton's poem appealed to him, as it had to Bodmer, because its subject matter was drawn from the Old Testament, but that was not all. It seemed to him to be true poetry, that is to say folk poetry, for like Hebrew poetry it was poetic expression of a national religious faith.

The existence of evil in the world presented to the age of enlightenment, and humanity, a most persistent problem. Haller's *Über den Ursprung des Übels*, 1734, is one of the early poetic attempts to deal with this question. In the invocation with which Haller begins the third part of this work he propounds, somewhat Miltonically, Milton's question:

> O Wahrheit! sage selbst, du Zeugin der Geschichte!
> Wer machte Gottes Zweck und unser Glück zu nichte?
> Wer war's, der wider Gott die Geister aufgebracht
> Und uns dem Laster hold, uns selber feind gemacht?

[37] Pizzo [421] 40.
[38] *Briefwechsel zwischen Gleim und Uz*, ed. Schüddekopf, BLVS, CCXVIII (1899) 230.
[39] Cf. L. C. van Noppen's introduction to his *Vondel's Lucifer*, translated from the Dutch, New York, 1898.
[40] Lessing, *Schriften*, VIII 166.
[41] *Ibid.*, IX 91.

And the strophe with which he begins to answer his questions is also vaguely Miltonic, beginning:

> Verschieden war der Fall verschiedner Geister-Orden:
> Der einen Trefflichkeit ist ihr Verderben worden,
> Die Kenntniß ihres Lichts gebar ihr Finsterniß,
> Sie hielten ihre Kraft für von sich selbst gewiß
> Und, voll von ihrem Glanz, verdrüßlich aller Schranken,
> Mißkennten sie den Gott, dem sie ihn sollten danken.[42]

The long argumentative poem ends rather abruptly with a sudden abandonment of the appeal to reason, "Verborgen sind, o Gott! die Wege deiner Huld," and the substitution of an appeal to faith. To Haller himself the conclusion was always unsatisfactory without a word regarding "Paradise Regained."

> Jetzt da mir die nahe Ewigkeit alles in einem ernsthaften Lichte zeigt, finde ich, die Mittel seien unverantwortlich verschwiegen worden, die Gott zum Widerherstellen der Seelen angewendt hat, die Menschwerdung Christi, sein Leiden, die aus der Ewigkeit uns verkündigte Wahrheit, sein Genugthun für unsre Sünden, das uns den Zutritt zu der Begnadigung eröffnet, alles hätte gesagt werden sollen.[43]

In his *Unterredung von der teutschen Poesie* Mencke made the strange comment that Milton forfeited by his *Paradise Regained* the renown that he had won by *Paradise Lost*.[44] There is no evidence of such a catastrophe in Germany. Schubart exclaimed in 1760: "Wie herabgesunken unsere Dichter von der Würde der biblischen Seher, von der Sonnenhöhe Homers, Ossians, Shakespears, Miltons, Bodmers, Klopstocks!"[45] and Herder read *Paradise Regained* "mit vieler Andacht" on his birthday, August 25, 1772, and even preferred it—"die Hütte vor dem Palast der Feen"—to *Paradise Lost*.[46]

The "Genies" saw Milton's epic with new eyes. Bodmer had contended that Adam was the hero because he commanded our respect.[47] They felt that Satan was the hero for they saw in him a fellow "Stürmer und Dränger." However it cannot be said that Satan served as a "Vorbild" for Schiller's Karl Moor,[48] and his relation to Mephistopheles was but indirect.[49]

The century-long discussion of the problem of good and evil attained dramatic climax in *Faust*. Schiller urged Goethe to complete his "Frag-

[42] Haller, *Gedichte*, 118.
[43] *Ibid.*, p. 118.
[44] Waterhouse [40] 142.
[45] Schubart, *Gesammelte Schriften* . . ., Stuttgart, 1889, I 286.
[46] *Herders Briefe an . . . Hamann*, ed. O. Hoffman, Berlin, 1889, 70.
[47] Pizzo [421] 32.
[48] Kraeger in FDL, VI (1898) 9–19.
[49] Sprenger [435]. Cf. Morris [436] 179 and his *Goethe Studien*², Berlin, 1902, I 84 ff.

ment" and give to the whole a higher metaphysical significance, which to him could only mean the subordination of evil to good. It required time for Goethe to adapt the old theme to the new demand. Moreover he was somewhat estranged from the demonology of Swedenborg which had interested him in the 1770's, but he found a new starting point in *Job* I:12, beginning: "And the Lord said unto Satan: Behold all that he hath is in thy power." It was this challenge that first suggested the pact and wager scenes of *Faust*. While Goethe was at work on them there came into his hand, as he wrote to Schiller, just by chance a copy of *Paradise Lost*. He found the theme "abscheulich, äußerlich scheinbar und innerlich wurmstichig und hohl," but an interesting personality appeared behind the verses. The reading compelled Goethe unwillingly to take up again the subject of freedom of the will, which, as he says, plays a sorry role both in the poem and in the Christian religion at large:

. . . denn sobald man den Menschen von Haus aus für gut annimmt, so ist der freye Wille das alberne Vermögen aus Wahl vom Guten abzuweichen und sich dadurch schuldig zu machen. Nimmt man aber den Menschen natürlich als bös an, oder, eigentlicher zu sprechen, in dem thierischen Falle unbedingt von seinen Neigungen hingezogen zu werden; so ist alsdann der freye Wille freylich eine vornehme Person, die sich anmaßt aus Natur gegen die Natur zu handeln.[50]

This problem and Milton's treatment of it engrossed his attention, and ten days later, August 10, 1799, he drew from the Weimar library *Paradise Lost* in Zachariä's translation[51] and read the exclamation (VIII, 187 f.):

Ihm Ehr und Preis, dem Allmächtigen, dem Ewigen,
Dessen Weisheit beschloß, aus Bösem Gutes zu schaffen.

and again (XII, 469 ff.):

O der unendlichen Huld, der unermeßlichen Güte,
Die soviel Gutes aus Bösem erzeugt, und selber das Böse
In Gutes verwandelt.

This was in accord with Goethe's view, and Mephistopheles describes himself similarly (v. 1336 f.) as:

Ein Theil von jener Kraft,
Die stets das Böse will und stets das Gute schafft.

But here the similarity ends, for Milton's Satan is tormented by a despair while Mephistopheles accepts his role with good humor.

Goethe mentioned *L'Allegro* as a partial counterbalance to the sombre poetry of Goldsmith, Gray, and Ossian but said: "Miltons *L'Allegro* muß erst in heftigen Versen den Unmuth verscheuchen, ehe er zu einer sehr

[50] Goethe, *Werke*, IV (14) 139 f.; letter of July 31, 1799.
[51] Morris [436] 177.

mäßigen Lust gelangen kann."[52] He knew apparently *Il Penseroso* as well.[53] He first became aware of *Samson Agonistes* late in life. In August 1829 Henry Crabb Robinson read to him the opening scenes of *Samson Agonistes*. Goethe thanked him and said: "It lets me more into the nature of his mind than any other of his works."[54] A few months later, January 31, 1830, Goethe said to Eckermann:

> Miltons *Simson* [ist] so im Sinne der Alten wie kein anderes Stück irgend eines neuen Dichters. Er ist sehr groß und seine eigene Blindheit ist ihm zu statten gekommen, um den Zustand Simsons mit solcher Wahrheit darzustellen. Milton war in der Tat ein Poet und man muß vor ihm allen Respekt haben.[55]

The lesser works of Milton were little known in Germany before 1750. Samuel Grynäus of Basel translated *Paradise Regained* into prose, together with *Samson Agonistes*, *L'Allegro*, and *Il Penseroso* in 1752. An anonymous translation in prose of *Lycidas* and of *Paradise Regained* appeared in Dessau in 1781. Gemmingen translated *L'Allegro* again into prose, Mannheim 1792. Voss contributed to his *Musenalmanach* of 1782 *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* "nach Milton." Whenever Voss followed Milton his translation of *Il Penseroso* was correct and skillful but he took unwarranted liberties with his text and smuggled in, as his most competent critic has said:

> . . . breite Schilderungen holsteiner und mecklenburgischer Landschaft und Häuslichkeit und, was anfechtbarer erscheint, seine eigenen religiösen und politischen Ansichten . . . wobei dieser von den 176 Versen auf ihrer 248 anwächst . . . Was als Endergebnis herauskommt, ist mehr Voß als Milton.[56]

In time Milton ceased to be read, and Klopstock's *Messias* also lost appeal while, at a still earlier date, the patriarchal poetry of Bodmer had fallen into disfavor; yet before this came to pass Milton had profoundly influenced German letters. Addison's example had led to the clarification and simplification of German prose. Pope had shown the way toward brevity and pointedness in poetry. The German language was becoming a simple musical instrument, but Milton's epic called for an organ of symphonic range, fitted to express the sublime. Bodmer's three translations, 1724, 1742, 1754, provide a striking example of the way in which the language struggled for growth, in order to cope with Miltonic thought and fancy, as do also the fragmentary hexametric translations of the time, leading to Zachariä's complete translation of 1760. In still another respect Milton's influence was decisive in German literature. The moral weeklies had offered themselves as a battleground of poetical theory, but Milton presented himself as the first great topic of a literary debate which established the rights of imagination along with those of reason.

[52] Goethe, *Werke*, I (28) 215.
[53] *Ibid.*, I (27) 340.
[54] Robinson, *Diary*, II 437.
[55] Eckermann, *Gespräche*, 515.
[56] Arnold [423].

Chapter IX

YOUNG'S *NIGHT THOUGHTS*

Though Edward Young belonged to the generation of Addison, Pope, and Thomson, his influence represents a later phase of German literary development than theirs. Like Thomson he does not lend himself to a sharp classification. His tragedies, *Busiris*, 1719, *The Revenge*, 1721, and *The Brothers*, 1726, were "correct" plays that even a Gottsched could approve of. Brawe made *The Revenge* the chief basis for his *Freygeist* in 1757. Young's *Night Thoughts* found favor with the Milton and Klopstock enthusiasts, while the "Stürmer and Dränger" claimed his *Conjectures on Original Composition* as a sanction of their program. His reputation in Germany began however with his *Night Thoughts*, 1746–1751, for it was not until a few years after their completion that his earlier tragedies were translated,[1] and it was no doubt in large part due to the fame of the *Night Thoughts* that the *Conjectures on Original Composition*, 1759, were accorded so prompt a reception in Germany.

Young's *Night Thoughts* appeared at a favorable moment in Germany. The enthusiasm for Milton had prepared the way for them, but the personal note distinguished Young's work from Milton's in much the same way that the appeal of the middle-class drama differed from that of its nobler predecessor. Young's poetry was, however, like Milton's in its lack of rhyme, in its imaginativeness, and in its recognition of inscrutable and mysterious forces. The time had passed when an English work of note had difficulty in commanding attention in Germany. The danger was rather that it might be taken up as a cult, and if the German Youngists were later disillusioned as to his character and the events of his life, this was in part because they had taken too literally the narrative scheme behind the *Night Thoughts*.

A protégée of Young, whose fame preceded him, was Elizabeth Singer Rowe. Her literary reputation was established by a series of letters entitled *Friendship in Death*, 1728. Young prepared these for the press and wrote a preface for them at her request. The letters were followed in 1739 by *Devout Exercises*. After her death her personal correspondence and her miscellaneous works were published. The favor with which these works were received in England and Germany was symptomatic of the time. The earliest translation of *Friendship in Death* was made by Johann Mattheson of Hamburg, 1734, and dedicated to his circle of friends, of

[1] Anon., Leipzig, 1756; reprinted, Leipzig, 1767. *The Brothers* was also translated by J. H. Schlegel, Kopenhagen, 1764. For other translations see Kind [625].

whom Hagedorn was one.[2] *The Devout Exercises* first appeared in German in 1754. The titles of these works were sufficient guaranty of their popularity. The one fell in with the friendship cult and other-worldliness of the time and the other, or indeed both, with the pietistic tendency. The prevailing conception of the earlier work is that the dead serve their living friends as guardian spirits. It purported to be a series of letters from the dead. Finally Professor Klausing of Leipzig translated Rowe's private correspondence in 1771 under the title of *Freundschaft im Leben*, and Ebert her miscellaneous poetry in 1772. The knowledge of Elizabeth Rowe in Germany was further fostered by the moral weeklies, especially by Cramer's *Der nordische Aufseher*.[3]

For about seven years after their completion in 1745 Young's *Night Thoughts* remained untranslated but not unknown; the earliest parts had been discussed by Gleim and Uz in their correspondence[4] and by Haller in the *Göttingsche gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1752.[5] Soon afterward three groups of German poets became especially interested in Young's devout work. The first had its center in Ebert, Klopstock, and the "Bremer Beyträger," a second in Hamann, and a third in Bodmer. Ebert first read Young to Klopstock, who, in 1752, wrote an ode to Young, his "teacher and guiding spirit:

> Stirb, du hast mich gelehrt, daß mir der Name Tod,
> Wie der Jubel ertönt, den ein Gerechter singt:
> Aber bleibe mein Lehrer,
> Stirb, und werde mein Genius![6]

Klopstock told Ebert that he read the Psalms and the Prophets and the *Night Thoughts* for inspiration while working on his *Messias*, and scores of passages bear witness to this.[7] In an essay "Von der heiligen Poesy," serving as an introduction to the Halle edition of the *Messias*, 1760, he said: "Young's *Nächte* sind vielleicht das einzige Werk der höheren Poesie, welches verdiente gar keine Fehler zu haben."[8] Cramer exalted Young even above Milton and just below David and the Prophets and the Book of Revelations, "Nach der *Offenbarung* kenne ich fast kein

[2] A French translation by Bertrand, Amsterdam, 1740, was translated into German in Göttingen, 1745. Cf. Fresenius [617] 523. The third and best translation was by Pastor Gustav von Bergmann of Livland, Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1770. For further details see Wolf [525].

[3] *Loc. cit.*, 2d ed., II (1762) 159 ff.

[4] BLVS, CCXVIII (1899); see its index.

[5] *Loc. cit.*, 1752, 589 f.

[6] Klopstock, *Oden*, ed. Muncker and Pawel, Stuttgart, 1889, I 108.

[7] Klopstock, *Sämmtliche Werke*, Leipzig, Göschen, 1856, X 228.

[8] Ebert, *Episteln und vermischte Gedichte*, Hamburg, 1789, I 298. Ebert cites 61 passages. Cf. Barnstorff [624].

Buch, welches ich mehr liebte; kein Buch, welches die Kräfte meiner Seele auf eine edlere Art beschäftigte, als seine *Nachtgedanken.*"[9]

In his own fashion Zachariä too shared the enthusiasm. He described himself in 1756 as "Glücklich . . . fern von allen Lagern und Königsherrn zu seyn, und bei einer Schale Punsch den Milton oder Young zur Gesellschaft zu haben."[10] He began his *Tageszeiten* in 1755 by invoking the muse of Thomson:

> Muse, die du den Brittischen Sänger mit güldener Laute
> Zu der geheimen Wohnung der Jahreszeiten geführet;
> Lass mich, gütige Muse, die Jahreszeiten im Kleinen—
> Jahreszeiten des Tages nicht ganz unwürdig besingen!

Thus he proceeded through "Morgen," "Mittag," and "Abend," but with "Nacht" he fell naturally within Young's sphere of influence and acknowledged his debt to Ebert:

> O Ebert, du, der du zuerst mich
> Zu der hohen Versammlung der brittischen Sänger geführet,
> Und die Schönheit der Youngischen Muse Germanien zeigtest.[11]

Ebert had planned a series of translations of the best English works, beginning with the first seven "Nights" of Young, but he soon found himself devoting most of his life to translating, annotating, and expounding from his chair in Braunschweig the works of Young alone. He completed, in 1752, a prose translation of the *Night Thoughts*, which reached its fourth edition in eleven years, in the face of rivalry by partial verse translations.[12] Herder called Ebert's work "eine Übersetzung, die nicht nur alles Verdienst eines Originals hat, sondern auch die Übertreibungen ihres Englischen Originals durch den Bau einer harmonischen Prose . . . gleichsam zurecht füget und mildert."[13] Other editions by Ebert appeared as well, among them one of "Nights" I–IV with the English original on the opposite pages and with notes on Young's sources and echoes of Young in the works of later poets. Ebert continued his efforts, despite the general reaction and the admonition of Zachariä:

> O E. . . ., hülle dich nicht in Melancholey!
> Verlass die Grotte, die du bewohnst,
> Und sitze nicht immer allein beym klagenden Young,
> In schwarze Nachtgedanken verwölkt.[14]

[9] *Der nordische Aufseher*, I (1760) 161.
[10] Quoted by Crosland [303] 294.
[11] *Op. cit.*, Rostock and Leipzig, 1756, 3 and 100.
[12] Geusau, *Night Thoughts*, "Night IV," Jena, 1752, in Alexandrines; Kayser, "Nights I–IV," Göttingen, 1752, in hexameters; Oeder, "Night V," Hamburg, 1754, in the original meter; anon., "Nights I, II, IV," Frankfurt, 1755, in trochaic octameters.
[13] Herder, *Werke*, XVIII 136.
[14] Zachariä, *Scherzhafte epische Poesien* . . ., Braunschweig and Hildesheim, 1754, 427.

The year of Ebert's death found him at work on a final reprint of one of his earlier volumes. With justification his biographer Eschenburg said of him that his excellent translations hastened the time, "da man nicht nur in Gedichten, sondern auch in Predigten, Wochenschriften, Betrachtungen, Schilderungen, moralischen Briefen . . . überall zu Youngisieren anfing."[15]

An influence of Young upon Ebert's original poetry has been too lightly denied. In an untitled poem of 1774, Ebert joins thoughts of friendship and death in Young's melancholy fashion:

> Denn von des Alters schweren Plagen
> Ist keine schwerer zu ertragen,
> Als die, verlassen und allein,
> Von ihren Gräbern nur umgeben,
> So manchen Freund zu überleben.[16]

"Die Genesung," 1759, is still more affected by the mood of Young. "Wehmut und Schmerz," whether caused by thoughts of dead friends or by love or by music, are for him "selig und wollustreich." "Mitten im Leben der Tod"—the sudden changes of "Lust und Schmerz" depress him:

> Wer is so kühn, auch mitten im Sonnenschein
> Irdischer Freuden, fröhlich zu sein!

and he bursts into bitter-sweet tears when he thinks of the absent Hagedorn or reads affecting passages of Glover's *Leonidas* or of Klopstock's *Messias.*

Gellert, like Klopstock and Zachariä, was led to the study of the English language by Ebert and the *Night Thoughts.* Though there are few direct echoes of Young in Gellert's work, still his wide influence spread the fame of Young, so that the opponents of the cult could say with some justification that Young and Gellert had spoiled the public taste.[17]

Klopstock and the "Bremer Beyträger" in Leipzig, about the year 1747, celebrated Elizabeth Rowe as much as Young. Klopstock himself could read them at that time only in translation but through that medium he was familiar with *Joseph,* and *Friendship in Death* was a solace to him during his unhappy love affair with Fanny Schmidt. In a letter to her he refers to the death of "die liebenswürdige Radikin unsere deutsche Rowe."[18] In the poem "Die künftige Geliebte," 1747, the picture of Fanny mingles with that of Elizabeth Rowe.

[15] Ebert, *Episteln und vermischte Gedichte,* 1795 II, xxx.
[16] *Re* this and the following see Dorn [632].
[17] Mauvillon and Unzer, *Über den Werth einiger deutschen Dichter,* Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1770, 301–312.
[18] *Briefe von und an Klopstock,* ed. Lappenberg, Braunschweig, 1867, 1.

Wirst du Fanny genannt? Ist Cidly dein feyrlicher Name?
Singer, die Joseph und den, welchen sie liebte, besang.[19]

In a later version of the same poem Petrarch's Laura is added to the composite picture:

Heißest du Laura? welche die liedervolle Petrarck sich,
Königen und Weisen, sie zu bewundern, besang?
Laura, Fanny! ach Singer! Ja, Singer, nennt mein Lied dich.[20]

In the poem "Petrarca und Laura" Klopstock begs "die göttliche Rowe" to plead for him with Fanny[21] and in "Der Abschied" he sees a vision wherein "Singer" stands in a throng of the best beloved poets and most beautiful women:

Ich sterbe, sehe nun bald um mich
Die großen Seelen, Popen und Addison,
Den Sänger Adams neben Adam,
Neben ihm Eva mit Palmenkränzen,
Der Schläfe Miltons heilig; die himlische,
Die fromme Singer, bey ihr die Radikin.[22]

In the ode, "Die Braut," Elizabeth Rowe and Fanny already begin to assume the appearance of guardian angels:

Doch mit Blicken voll Ernst winket Urania
Meine Muse, mir zu, gleich der unsterblichen,
Tiefer denkenden Singer
Oder, göttliche Fanny, dir!
Singe, sprach sie zu mir, was die Natur dich lehrt![23]

Soon after her marriage Meta Klopstock showed a similar enthusiasm for Elizabeth Rowe and expressed it in an English letter addressed to Richardson.[24] In the manner of Elizabeth Rowe she also wrote her *Briefe der Verstorbenen an die Lebendigen*, which Klopstock edited and published the year after her death,[25] for she had already become Klopstock's protecting spirit after the formula of Rowe. Traces of this idea may even be found in his odes and his *Messias*.

Hamann read Young's *Night Thoughts* along with Hervey's *Meditations and Contemplations* and *Theron and Aspasio* during his stay in England.[26] He believed with Young in revelation as the ultimate basis of

[19] Klopstock, *Oden*, I 33. Cf. fn. 6, above.
[20] *Briefe von und an Klopstock*, 20. To Hagedorn, April 19, 1849.
[21] Klopstock, *Oden*, I 49.
[22] *Ibid.*, I 65 f.
[23] *Ibid.*, I 80.
[24] *The Correspondence of Samuel Richardson . . .*, ed. Barbauld, London, 1804, III 152.
[25] *Hinterlassene Schriften von Margarethe Klopstock*, Hamburg, 1759.
[26] Hamann, *Schriften*, ed. Roth and Wiener, Berlin, 1821, I 53. Cf. Unger [634].

faith, and Young affected his style in his *Biblische Betrachtungen* and in his *Kreuzzüge eines Philologen*. Thomas Abbt wrote to Mendelssohn that this work was in the main an obvious imitation of Young.[27] Not loath to affirm his debt Hamann wrote to Herder in 1769: "Ich mußte neulich unvermuthet in Young blättern; da kam es mir vor, als wenn alle meine Hypothesen eine bloße Nachgeburt seiner *Nachtgedanken* gewesen und alle meine Grillen von seinen Bildern imprägnirt wären."[28]

Herder was less enthusiastic over the *Night Thoughts*. He discussed them in his reviews, sermons, and letters and translated passages from them,[29] but he spoke of the "etwas überspannte Verehrung bey uns"[30] and the mere imitators of Young he called "schlechte Schmierer von Nachtgedanken."[31] To be sure, later, when the Young mania had been generally overcome, he became superlative in his praise of the *Night Thoughts*. In his *Adrastea*, 1801, he called them "das non plus ultra sinnreicher, witziger, erhabner, frommer Gedanken, glänzend, wie das nächtliche Firmament."[32] Other contemporary opponents of Young and his German followers were Möser, Heinse, and Unzer. Mendelssohn criticized Cronegk's "Einsamkeiten," 1757, which was a confessed imitation of Young,[33] and Lessing called Cramer's praise of Young exaggerated and joined in Mendelssohn's campaign against the "Nachtgedankenmacher."[34]

Of all the Swiss poets Bodmer imitated Young most assiduously and was influenced by him perhaps the least. Bodmer may have first learned of Young's *Night Thoughts* through Hagedorn, who wrote to Bodmer, October 3, 1743: "Ich habe neulich ein ungemein tiefsinniges Gedicht in vier Büchern gesehen, in welchem eine poetische Schwermuth herrschet, die ihresgleichen nicht hat, und ich wünschte, es beylegen zu können."[35] Ebert discovered over thirty passages in Bodmer's *Noah*, 1750, parallel to *Night Thoughts*.[36] Well pleased at the report, Bodmer asked a friend for the list, saying: "Ich wollte gern nachsehen, wie viel Male und wie genau ich Young nachgeahmt habe."[37] Haller, who might have been affected by the new impulse, had left Switzerland and had ceased to be a poet, but his interest is shown by his sponsorship of the Kayser translation[38] and his correspondence with Tscharner, who journeyed to England

[27] Abbt, *Vermischte Werke*, Berlin, 1771, I 114.
[28] Hamann, *Schriften*, III 393.
[29] Herder, *Werke*, XXVII 392 ff.
[30] *Ibid.*, XXIV 96.
[31] *Ibid.*, I 253 f.
[32] *Ibid.*, XXIII 236.
[33] *Briefe die neueste Literatur betreffend*, 1761, Brief 207.
[34] *Ibid.*, 1759, Brief 48; cf. Lessing, *Schriften*, VIII 125.
[35] "Ungedruckte Briefe," Zürich, Universitäts-Bibliothek.
[36] Ebert [623].
[37] Letter of August 30, 1765. Cf. Kind [625] 76.
[38] Cf. fn. 12, above.

especially to secure information in regard to Young. Tscharner was a devoted admirer of Young, but his enthusiasm never led him beyond imitation and fragmentary translation.

In his earlier poetic days when he was tentatively associated with the pious Swiss school Wieland shared Bodmer's admiration for Young. He wrote his "patriarchischen Youngischen und Rowischen" verses in Bodmer's house. The works in question are *Briefe von Verstorbenen an hinterlassene Freunde*, 1753, *Sympathieen, Erinnerungen an eine Freundin*, 1754, and *Empfindungen eines Christen*, 1755—titles suggestive of Elizabeth Rowe rather than of Young; and Wieland himself, in his *Ode an Doris*, 1752, gives testimony to the fact that he and Sophie Gutermann read Elizabeth Rowe's works together as early as 1750.

> Die Weisheit, die so fremde den Weisen ist,
> Die Young so göttlich sang, die der Ewigkeit
> Uns legen lehret, zeigt uns Rowe
> Menschlicher, schön wie sie selbst in Bildern.[39]

In a letter to Bodmer written in 1752, shortly before his arrival in Zürich, Wieland expresses his gratitude to the "allerliebste Rowe" for the best thoughts and pictures in his *Moralische Erzählungen*.[40]

There are reminiscences of Elizabeth Rowe's poetry and allusions to her in nearly all works of Wieland's Zürich period, but even as early as in the *Sympathieen*, 1754, he is slightly critical of her excess of contemplative devotion, and by 1758 he is writing to Zimmermann: "Il a été un temps que j'étais charmé de Young. Ce temps est passé."[41] Young, he says in this same letter, is corrupting the taste of the writers of the day. Lessing is accordingly able to rejoice in 1759 after the appearance of Wieland's *Lady Johanna Gray:* "Freuen Sie Sich mit mir! Herr Wieland hat die aetherischen Sphären verlassen, und wandelt wieder unter den Menschenkindern."[42]

Meanwhile certain future "Stürmer und Dränger" were reading Young at a plastic period of their lives. An enthusiasm for Klopstock gave impulse to Lenz's first long poem "Der Versöhnungstod Jesu." From Klopstock he may have been led to Young, whose *Night Thoughts* he read first in Ebert's translation, but soon after may have been able to read it in English, for in 1771 he offered to Nicolai a translation of the *Essay on Criticism*.[43] Young's piety, his insistence upon an ever impending death, the melancholy atmosphere of his poems, all appealed to the

[39] Wieland, *Schriften*, I (1) 438.
[40] Wieland, *Briefe*, I 95.
[41] *Ibid.*, I 221.
[42] Lessing, *Schriften* VIII 166; *63. Literaturbrief.*
[43] O. Anwand, *Beiträge zum Studium der Gedichte von J. M. R. Lenz.* München, 1897; 52 f.

morbid tendencies of Lenz's nature. His *Landplagen*, begun in Livland about the year 1766, teaches the same lesson as the *Night Thoughts* and is as near a counterpart to it as a prevailingly narrative and descriptive poem can be. Of the six "Landplagen," i.e., "Krieg, Hunger, Pest, Feuer- und Wassernoth, Erdbeben," all but the last may have been known to Lenz by experience, but the first four are mentioned in just that order in the first book of Young's *Night Thoughts*.

At just about the same time, 1766, the seventeen-year-old Goethe was displaying his knowledge of English to his sister by sending her a melancholy poem in that language, with the introduction: "I make English verses . . . that a stone would weep."[44] The English muse was generally held to be typically somber. In *Dichtung und Wahrheit* Goethe describes the prevailing mood of the time which produced *Werther*. It received, he said, an additional impetus from without. "Es geschah dieses durch die englische Literatur, besonders durch die poetische, deren große Vorzüge ernster Trübsinn begleitet, welchen sie einem jeden mittheilt, der sich mit ihr beschäftigt,"[45] and in this connection he mentions first and foremost Young:

> Man betrachte nun in diesem Sinne die Mehrzahl der englischen, meist moralisch-didaktischen Gedichte, und sie werden im Durchschnitt nur einen düsteren Überdruß des Lebens zeigen. Nicht Youngs *Nachtgedanken* allein, wo dieses Thema vorzüglich durchgeführt ist, sondern auch die übrigen betrachtenden Gedichte, schweifen, eh' man sich's versieht, in dieses traurige Gebiet.[46]

A contemporary of Goethe read Young's *Night Thoughts* and told of the experience in one of the most subjective German novels of the eighteenth century. In his *Anton Reiser*, 1783, Karl Philipp Moritz says that when Anton was still a young boy, suffering in soul and body, Young's *Night Thoughts* came into his hands and afforded him the melancholy solace he needed:

> Es däuchte ihm, als fände er hier alle seine vorigen Vorstellungen von der Nichtigkeit des Lebens, und der Eitelkeit aller menschlichen Dinge wieder.—Er konnte sich nicht satt an diesem Buche lesen, und lernte die Gedanken und Empfindungen, welche darin herrschten, beinahe auswendig.[47]

The enthusiasm for Young, with his "puritanischer Körperentwertung"[48] was however but a quickly passing phase in Moritz's rapid course of development.

[44] Goethe, *Werke*, IV (1) 51.
[45] *Ibid.*, I (28) 212.
[46] *Ibid.*, I (28) 214.
[47] *Op. cit.*, in DLD, XXIII (1886) 227.
[48] Minder, Robert, *Die religiöse Entwickelung von Karl Philipp Moritz . . .*, NF XXVIII (1936) 223.

Literary movements penetrated somewhat tardily the fastnesses of Württemberg and of Schloß Solitüde. Here Schiller during the years 1773–1778 passed through the school of Klopstock and Young; it is not always easy to distinguish the effect of the one from the other, and possibly some trace of the experience persisted; Wieland called Schiller's "Künstler," 1789, philosophical poetry of the species of the *Night Thoughts*.[49] But by 1795 or 1796 we find Schiller, in his essay *Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung*,[50] questioning the intelligence of persons possessed of an excessive fondness for poets like Klopstock and Young, who lead not into life but away from it.

It has been suggested that Novalis's *Hymnen an die Nacht*, 1797, were in some way connected with Young's *Night Thoughts*.[51] It can be shown that Novalis read Young's poem while his own was in course of composition, but the parallels thus far offered in support of the theory of influence are not of such a nature as to compel conviction, and it is safe to conclude that well before the end of the century Young's *Night Thoughts* had ceased to cast their spell over the poets of Germany.

[49] Schiller, *Briefe*, II 236.
[50] Schiller, *Werke*, XVI 526.
[51] Busse [635], Ritter in *Beiträge zur neueren Literaturgeschichte*, Neue Folge XIII (1930) and Samuel in DLZ, XXIX (1930) 1376, but see pp. 281, below.

Chapter X

MACPHERSON'S OSSIAN

James Macpherson of Badenoch, county of Inverness, was born in 1736. He studied at the universities of Aberdeen and Edinburgh, but left before obtaining a degree. At about the age of twenty he wrote as his first poetry some mediocre imitations of Robert Blair's *The Grave* and of Thomson's *Seasons*. Macpherson's mother spoke Gaelic, and he commanded it well enough to converse in it with the people of the countryside and understand their tales and ballads. In 1758, when serving as a tutor in the country, he became acquainted with the Scottish dramatist John Home, who was interested in highland poetry. Macpherson showed him a poem called *The Death of Oscar*, which he said was literally translated from a Gaelic original. In reality it was an original poem of Macpherson's, suggested by a fragment of ancient Gaelic literature in oral tradition. Home showed the poem to Professor Hugh Blair of the University of Edinburgh, who urged Macpherson to continue. Consequently there appeared in 1760 an anonymous volume of *Fragments of ancient Poetry collected in the Highlands of Scotland and translated from the Gaelic or Erse Language;* and in 1763 an anonymous introduction by Blair appeared, entitled "A critical dissertation on the poems of Ossian."[1] Blair began later to use the poems as a basis for his lectures.

Blair believed the fragments stemmed from an ancient Gaelic epic, and money was collected to send Macpherson to the highlands to discover it. Even David Hume contributed, saying that the authenticity of the poems was beyond all question. Macpherson accepted the money without reluctance, made the journey, and published, on his return in 1762, an ancient epic poem *Fingal* in six books, and the next year a similar epic called *Temora*. After he had shown the way, translations of genuine Gaelic poetry by Edmond de Harold, 1775, John Clarke, 1778, John Smith, 1780, and Arthur Young, 1787, followed in quick succession. To meet the objections of skeptics Macpherson reprinted in the third edition, 1765, the purported Gaelic original of a part of the seventh book of *Temora*, which "original" was, however, an all too obvious falsification by his own hand. Hume now became suspicious and urged Blair to institute a thorough investigation, but Blair had already committed himself so far that the result of the inquiry was a foregone conclusion. However Macpherson was compelled to defend the authenticity of his originals against such critics as David Hume and Samuel Johnson. The latter had

[1] First united with Macpherson's volume in 1765.

gone so far as to deny the existence of an Ossianic literature. He declared shrewdly that Macpherson owed to tradition only the name Ossian and that the rest was pure invention. Macpherson stood his ground. When confronted with fragments differing from his own, he stoutly maintained that his alone were authentic; and when the originals were demanded of him, he offered to publish them if the funds were provided; and when, to his dismay, a thousand pounds were collected, he was driven to the extremity of putting his English poems into Gaelic,[2] a painful task, for he had forgotten the little Gaelic he once knew. He withheld his "originals" from Gaelic scholars, but showed them to disinterested men of note, for example, to Helferich Peter Sturz, in 1768, who was duly impressed.[3] Macpherson died in 1796 with his "originals" not yet devised. His friend Mackenzie continued the work and published it in 1807 under the auspices of the Highland Society of London, but in an uncompleted form, for only half of the poems were represented. Another report by the Highland Society of Edinburgh in 1805 went no farther than to show that ballads really existed of the type that Macpherson professed to have translated.

Celtic scholars of today know the truth:[4] Of the ten or fifteen thousand verses in his "originals" of 1807 all except one verse were forged by Macpherson and his helpers. There never were any Gaelic epics in Scotland. There existed Gaelic ballads and these gave Macpherson his starting point, but not one of his poems is a faithful reproduction of a Gaelic original. A few sentences here and there correspond to passages in the Gaelic literature. About four-fifths of the material was, however, without Gaelic connection and was purely Macpherson's invention. The style corresponded in some rare passages to that of the genuine Gaelic ballads but more frequently it was so reminiscent of Homer, the Hebrew prophets, Milton, and certain more recent poets as to arouse suspicion from the outset.

In spite of English skepticism, Macpherson's work was received with great favor on the Continent and was translated into German, Italian, French, Spanish, Dutch, Danish, Swedish, Polish, Russian, and modern Greek, in fact into more languages than any other English work except *Robinson Crusoe.*

It was the lyric element in Ossian which predominated and appealed to the time. The epic element is weak. The characters lack distinguishing

[2] Sterne in ZVL, VII (1895) 62; but cf. Cross, MPh, XVI (1918) 447.
[3] Sturz, *Schriften*, Leipzig, 1789, p. 6. *Deutsches Museum*, 1777, I 214.
[4] Cf. J. S. Smart, *James Macpherson*, London, 1905; L. C. Sterne, cited above; H. R. D. Anders, "Ossian," PrJ, CXXXI (1908) 1–36, based largely on Sterne; van Tieghem, *Ossian en France*, I–II, Paris, 1917; Tombo [449] 3–63 notes German comment on English controversial literature.

individuality. Love and war are the chief narrative themes, but the warriors fight for no clear purpose and one pair of lovers resembles another. Instead of action there are laments over dead comrades, admonitions of the spirits of dead heroes to their successors in arms, mournful reflections on the weakness of man, the flight of time, and bygone better days, all in a setting of hazy moonlight atmosphere, of falling autumn leaves, and the mournful beating waves. Such was the poetry of "poor moaning monotonous Macpherson" as Carlyle called him. The form emphasized the content. Macpherson proposed to write in verse, his sponsors urged prose. The fortunate compromise was rhythmic prose.

Germany was prompt to respond. In 1762 two brief translations appeared in the *Bremisches Magazin.*[5] In 1763 Raspe offered extracts from *Fingal* in the *Hannoverisches Magazin.*[6] Engelbrecht in Hamburg translated the *Fragments* of 1760 almost in their entirety, 1761, and in the same year Wittenberg translated *Fingal* into rhythmic prose. In 1767 the *Hamburger Unterhaltungen* offered a verse translation by Crome of a song in *Colma.*[7] Michael Denis, a Jesuit living in Vienna, first saw the Ossianic poems in an Italian translation by Cesarotti of 1763 and compared them in his mind with the epics of Vergil and Homer. When Denis heard of Klopstock's approval of Ossian in 1768 he exclaimed: "Wie froh war ich! Ich fing zu übersetzen an."[8] Under such auspices it was natural for him to translate it into the controversy-provoking hexameters which Klotz[9] and Weisse[10] commended and Herder deplored:

> Der Klopstockische Hexameter bei Oßian? freilich auch *hinc illae lacrimae!* Hätte der Herr D. die eigentliche Manier Oßians nur etwas auch mit dem inneren Ohre überlegt—Oßian so kurz, stark, männlich, abgebrochen in Bildern und Empfindungen—Klopstocks Manier, so ausmahlend, so vortrefflich, Empfindungen ganz ausströmen, und . . . die Sprachfügungen ergießen zu lassen—welch ein Unterschied! Und was ist nun ein Oßian in Klopstocks Hexameter? in Klopstocks Manier?[11]

Translations continued to appear for another hundred years. From 1762–1800 there were four complete and twenty-four partial translations; from 1800–1868 nine complete and twenty-two partial translations. Goethe, Herder, and Lenz translated individual poems. Bürger complained to Göckingk, January 25, 1779:

[5] *Loc. cit.*, V 2 (1762) 448–552.
[6] *Loc. cit.*, I (1763) 1457–1470.
[7] *Loc. cit.*, IV 1 (1767) 617–620.
[8] Tombo [449] 120.
[9] *Deutsche Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften* VIII (1768) 685–703.
[10] NBSWFK, VIII (1769) 99–112.
[11] Herder, *Werke*, V 160.

Denis ist ganz außer dem Ton des Originals und Harold muß vollends gar erst teutsch lernen, schlechter als diese konnte kein Schüler übersezen. Die, welche das Fräulein Iris zu Markte bringt, lispelt gar zu sehr; und Wittenbergs seine klingt wie ein vol gesabbeltes Reichsposthorn.[12]

The Göttinger Bund, like its idol Klopstock, was a devoted adherent of Ossian. Bürger translated *Carric Thura* in 1779 for Boie's *Deutsches Museum*[13] and the conclusion of *Carthon* for the *Musenalmanach* of 1798.[14] Certain other fragmentary versions first appeared after his death.[15] Friedrich Leopold, Graf zu Stolberg, produced a three-volume translation in 1806.

The controversy regarding the authenticity of the poems became early known in Germany. A skeptical essay by M. d. C. [J. O'Brien, Bishop of Cloyne] in the *Journal des Sçavans*, 1764, was translated in part by Christian Heinrich Schmid and published in the *Hamburger Unterhaltungen* in 1766.[16] Bodmer may have seen either the original or a translation. In a letter to Schinz in 1769 Bodmer wrote that he had noted certain evidences "daß Ossian nicht gedacht haben könnte, was ihm beigemessen wird. Ich denke, wenn er dieses hat denken können, so könnte er doch viel mehrers denken, das er doch nicht gedacht hat."[17]

A reviewer in the *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* bitterly resented the essay of M. d. C. and commended Ossian as being "minder geschwätzig als der griechische Barde" and the Gaelic people as having "ein unendlich zärtliches Gefühl von der Ehre." The reviewer, who was none other than Albrecht von Haller, found in the Macpherson translation, "eine Schreibart die aus den biblischen Schriften, aus dem Homer und aus den Reden der Irokesen zusammengesetzt ist," which discovery however did not impair his faith in the originals. At the conclusion he referred to the anonymous "Critical Dissertation" by Blair which accompanied the *Fragments*, saying: "der Ungenannte vergleicht die Schönheiten dieser Gedichte mit dem Homer, dem Virgil, den biblischen Büchern und mit anderen nordlichen Liedern, die Ossian dennoch weit übertrifft."[18] Such comparisons to Homer's disadvantage soon became frequent. Voss said explicitly: "Der Schotte Ossian ist ein größerer Dichter als der Ionier Homer,"[19] and Klopstock boldly confessed: "Ich liebe Ossian so sehr, daß ich seine Werke über einige griechische Dichter der besten Zeit

[12] Sauer in VSL III (1890) 422; Harold, Düsseldorf, 1775; "Frl. Iris" [Lenz] in *Iris* 1775–1776; Wittenberg, Hamburg, 1764.
[13] *Loc. cit.*, 1779, I 534.
[14] *Loc. cit.*, 84.
[15] Cf. Wicke [237] 55.
[16] *Loc. cit.*, I (1766) 329–340, 420–436, 504–523.
[17] Quoted by Max Wehrli, *J. J. Bodmer und die Geschichte der Literatur*, Zürich, 1937, 127 and 155.
[18] *Loc. cit.*, 1765, 130 f. Cf. Haller, *Tagebuch*, I 266 and GGA, 1767, 1132 ff.
[19] *Briefe von J. H. Voss*, ed. A. Voss, Leipzig, 1840, I 191.

setze."[20] Others who indulged in such extravagant language were Grimm and Suard in France, Cesarotti in Italy, and Denis in Austria.

Such comparisons were obviously incompatible with Herder's theories, in so far as they implied that Homer's epics were a standard by which other epics were to be evaluated. Blackwell, Blair, and Herder were in agreement on one principle: The "Volksdichter" must be read, understood, appreciated, and interpreted in the light of their various races and times.

Christian Felix Weisse reviewed the third edition of the Ossianic poems in 1765. He quoted at great length from Blair's dissertation and thus made the contents more fully known in Germany.[21] He agreed fully with Blair and discounted the skeptical comments of M. d. C., whose arguments, however, impressed another critic. Gerstenberg wrote in his *Briefe Über die Merkwürdigkeiten der Literatur:*

> Daß entweder Hr. Macpherson seinen Text außerordentlich verfälscht, oder auch das untergeschobene Werk einer neuern Hand allzu leichtgläubig für ein genuines angenommen hätte, glaubten wir gleich aus den mancherley Spuren des Modernen sowol, als aus den verschiedenen kleinen hints, die der Dichter sich aus dem Homer etc. gemerkt zu haben schien, wahrzunehmen.[22]

To this Herder replied indignantly: "So etwas kann Macpherson unmöglich gedichtet haben! So was läßt sich in unserem Jahrhunderte nicht dichten!"[23]

The "Ossianic" poems gave impetus in Germany to the development of a lyric genre which flourished for a brief time under the name of "bardic" poetry. Scandinavian and Ossianic lore combined to create this exotic plant. Information in regard to old Scandinavian literature was at this time meager and conceptions were erroneous, but Heinrich Wilhelm von Gerstenberg had studied the available fact and fiction perhaps more thoroughly than any other scholar of the time in Germany. It is true that as a student at the Altona Gymnasium in 1754 he wrote a poem in which he referred to the Celts, Scandinavians, and Germans as of a common stock, but by the time that he reviewed Macpherson's work in his journal he was better informed. Skeptical as he was in regard to Macpherson's claims, he was yet as sensitive to the charm of Ossianic poetry as to Scandinavian songs. His "Gedicht eines Skalden," 1766, may be taken as the beginning of the bardic mode in German poetry. Klopstock admitted Gerstenberg's priority in the introduction of Northern mythology, in a letter to him of November, 1771.[24] In Gerstenberg's

[20] Denis, *Literarischer Nachlaß*, ed. J. von Retzer, Wien, 1801–1802, II 116.
[21] NBSWFK, I (1766) 245–261; III (1766) 13–38.
[22] *Loc. cit.*, Brief VIII 1766, 104; in DLD, XXIX (1890) 57.
[23] Herder, *Werke*, V 160.
[24] Muncker [439]^{2} 380.

Ariadne auf Naxos, 1767, there are, despite its classic theme, passing reminiscences of Ossian, and though his tragedy *Ugolino*, 1768, owes its original impulse to Shakespeare, it contains many Ossianic passages. Similarly *Der Waldjüngling*, 1771, owes its origin to Rousseau, and the home of the primitive men here described is Scandinavia, but the scenery and the characters are Ossianic. Even after bardic poetry had had its day, Gerstenberg remained true to it. His four-act drama, *Minona oder die Angel-Sachsen*, 1783, was his favorite among his dramas. Van Tieghem calls it "la pièce la plus complètement ossianique que l'on ait écrite en Europe."[25] In a footnote to the first edition Gerstenberg speaks of Ossian as an authority, "dessen historische Data wenigstens itzt keinen Einwand mehr leiden, wenn gleich die Aechtheit seiner gegenwärtigen epischen und dramatischen Gehalt etwas zweideutig seyn möchte."[26] Other Ossianic dramas in Germany were Eschenburg's *Comala*, 1769; Ryno's *Fingal und Daura*, 1777; Saam's *Darthula*, 1780; Wachsmuth's *Fingal in Lochlin*, 1782, and his *Inamorulla*, 1783; and Harold's *Sulmora*, 1802.

Gerstenberg's next successor in bardic poetry was Karl Friedrich Kretschmann, whose "Gesang Rhingulfs des Barden, als Varus geschlagen war" was dated 1769 but actually published in 1768. Weisse wrote to him that Klopstock was composing a "Bardiet" about the same battle and advised him to hasten publication lest he be regarded as an imitator.[27] Kretschmann himself regarded the priority question as unimportant, since Ossian was the predecessor of the entire group: "Man sah endlich den ganzen Streit, ob Thorlaug [Gerstenberg], Werdomar [Klopstock], oder Rhingulph [Kretschmann] der erste sei, von der gerechten, nämlich von der lächerlichen Seite an."[28]

The question was meaningless in a sense of which Kretschmann was unaware, for Thorland and Werdomar were almost as far apart as *Werther* and *Götz von Berlichingen*. The one represented the lyric element in Ossian, the other, by dint of the identifying of the Celtic with the Nordic and German peoples, represented the racial patriotic element; and again Thorland and Werdomar should be distinguished from the throng of imitators of which Kretschmann was an example. Herder urged Nicolai not to confuse the bards, for whom all was merely a matter of "Sprache, Kleid, erborgter Ceremoniumkram"[29] with the true disciples of Ossian and the Skalds.

The imitators discarded the lyre and the laurel wreath and took up

[25] Van Tieghem [451].
[26] *Op. cit.*, fn. 8.
[27] Knothe [464] 11, fn. 1. Cf. Herder, *Werke*, V 334.
[28] Kretschmann, *Sämtliche Werke*, 1784–1797, I 2.
[29] *Herders Briefwechsel mit Nicolai*, ed. O. Hoffmann, Berlin, 1887, 67. Cf. Herder, *Werke*, V 334.

the harp and the crown of oak leaves, and the much ridiculed "Bardengebrüll," "Bardengeschrei," or "Bardengeheul" broke forth. Kretschmann's "Klage Rhingulfs des Barden," 1771, is a continuation of his previous work. His bardic poetry ended a few years later, after the movement had made itself ridiculous and unpopular. In his later works nothing remained of it but the bard, the grove, and the oak, which had become for the time the conventional stage setting for lyric poetry.

Klopstock was the popularizer of the bardic school. Ossian was in accord with Klopstock's enthusiasms and his moods. Ossian was national and patriotic and as melancholy as Klopstock himself, after the death of his Meta. Ossian's melancholy was a fit sequel to Young's; and the Ossianic pictures were, like Klopstock's own in the *Messias*, heroic, grand, and hazy. Klopstock arbitrarily combined facts in such a way as to fill the Germanic past with the Ossianic atmosphere. In *Germania*, III, Tacitus told of the "barditus," the singing of heroic songs before the battle, whereby the Germani inspired themselves for combat. Klopstock erroneously understood the word to refer to the songs themselves and fancifully connected it with the Celtic loan word "Barde," assuming that bards had been the writers of such songs. None of the battle songs of the Germani, alas, had been preserved, but the songs of Ossian compensated Klopstock in some degree, for he shared the common confusion of Celt with Teuton. In his own words: "Ossian war deutscher Abkunft, weil er ein Kaledonier war,"[30] and again:

> Sie, deren Enkel jetzt auf Schottlands Bergen wohnen,
> Die von den Römern nicht provinzten Kaledonen,
> Sind deutschen Stamms. Daher gehört auch uns mit an
> Der Bard und Krieger Ossian,
> Und mehr noch als den Engelländern an.[31]

Klopstock further complicated the Nordic past by causing all its heroes, Celtic and Germanic alike, to adopt the Eddic mythology. His adherents did likewise. He next felt moved to revise his earlier poems accordingly. Again his adherents followed him. Still later he repented his all too lavish Northern decoration and revised some of it away. His unbounded admiration lasted from about 1762 to 1775. By 1762 he had sufficient proficiency in English to read the simple sentences of Macpherson in the original.

It is not easy to isolate Macpherson's influence on Klopstock, for the Bible, Homer, Milton, and certain Latin poets form, to a large extent,

[30] *Klopstock und seine Freunde*, ed. Schmidt, Halberstadt, 1810, II 214. Letter to Gleim, June 31 [*sic*], 1769.

[31] Epigram 183 in *Hamburgische neue Zeitung* 1771, reprinted in *Die deutsche Gelehrtenrepublik*, ed. 1; omitted from ed. 2.

the basis of the style of both; but certain specifically Ossianic traits can be first distinguished in the odes written in 1764–1767 and in the first "Bardiet," *Die Hermanns-Schlacht.* The influence is less obvious in the later odes and "Bardiete," and on the latter part of the *Messias,* which alone could come into consideration, its effect has never been demonstrated.

The best criterion of the Ossianic influence on Klopstock is the external use of the Ossianic machinery and decoration. The "dark, dim, distant, far, misty, silent" atmosphere of Ossian begins to pervade Klopstock's poetry, the prophetic element appears, and spirits of the dead are conjured up.[32] Klopstock's conception of the songs of the bards in the ode "Der Hügel und der Hain," 1767, is based largely upon his knowledge of the poems of Ossian.[33] An Ossianic mannerism was the heaping up of "as's" and "so's" in comparisons, a habit which became stereotyped among the Ossianic imitators. Klopstock's numerous comparisons to the oak are all found in his dramas following the year 1768, none in his *Messias.*[34] Klopstock also borrowed the name of the royal residence of Fingal for his lovers, using Selma as the feminine form and Selmar as the masculine. Both were unknown in Germany at the time but Selma became a popular name along with Malvine and Oskar of like origin. The bards play an important role in his bardic dramas *Die Hermanns-Schlacht* and *Hermann und die Fürsten.* They admonish the warriors: "Höret Taten der vorigen Zeit," and they relate the deeds of ancient heroes in Ossianic manner. Ossianic similes are frequent. Wind and breeze, blast and gale, surge through these works, and warrior hosts are likened to a roaring stream pouring down the hills, or to a ridge of mist.

Klopstock sought direct information regarding the old bards. He wrote to Denis in 1768: "Macpherson, mit dem ich correspondiere, versteht entweder Ossians Quantität oder das Sylbenmaß überhaupt nicht genug."[35] Thwarted thus, he tried again through Angelika Kauffmann, another admirer of Ossian, tarrying in Scotland in 1770: "Könnten Sie nicht in Edinburgh, oder auch weiter hinauf gegen Norden, durch Hülfe Ihrer Freunde, einen Musikus auftreiben, der mir die Melodien solcher Stellen in Ossian, die vorzüglich lyrisch sind in unsere Noten setzte?"[36] As late as 1797 we find him writing to Böttger: "Wissen Sie schon etwas von der Ausgabe von Ossians Gesängen, die jetzt in seiner Sprache gemacht wird? Ist die Uebersezung getreu? Sind Anmerkungen über das Zeltische

[32] "Thuiskon," 1764; "Rothschilds Gräber," 1766; "Hügel und Hain," 1767.
[33] Tombo [449] 95 ff.
[34] J. Köster, *Über Klopstocks Gleichnisse,* Programm Iserlohn, 1878.
[35] *Briefe von und an Klopstock,* ed. J. M. Lappenberg, Braunschweig, 1867, 211; letter of July 22, 1768; cf. *ibid.,* 218.
[36] *Ibid.,* 226.

dabey?"[37] Klopstock's death in 1804 deprived him of the satisfaction of seeing the "originals," in which he had shown so keen an interest, but from his private correspondence in his last years it is clear that he had lost faith in Macpherson.[38]

Michael Denis, the translator of Ossian, became also one of Ossian's imitators. Kretschmann addressed to him an ode, "Rhingulfs Lied an Sined, den Druiden der Harfe." Denis was well pleased with the anagrammatic compliment and published his odes in 1772 under the title *Lieder Sineds des Barden*. His songs are the most anachronistic of all. He has ever a bard at hand to praise God, to lament the death of Gellert, to celebrate Maria Theresa's "Namenstag," or to dedicate a national monument.

Letters from Weisse in Leipzig, Goethe in Frankfurt, and Boie in Göttingen declare or admit that the bardic poetry was not finding favor,[39] and Herder wrote: "Eben der Barde [Ossian], der *seine* Welt so *eigen* und *groß* besang sollte uns lehren, die unsrige eben so *eigen* und wahr zu besingen,—nicht zu rauben, nicht einem fremden Jahrhundert zu fröhnen."[40]

There is no evidence that it was Hamann who first aroused Herder's enthusiasm for Ossian. Hamann's famous declaration: "Poesie ist die Muttersprache des menschlichen Geschlechtes" was uttered before Ossian was known to him. As late as 1769 Hamann was still awaiting a copy of Ossian from England.[41] In the introduction to the second edition of the *Fragmente* Herder acknowledges indebtedness to the Hamburg translation of M.d.C.'s essay, to Weisse's review in his *Bibliothek*, and to Gerstenberg's *Briefe die Merkwürdigkeiten der Literatur betreffend* and recommends these to his readers,[42] but even at a later time when he knew Ossian through fragmentary translation he was ready to assert that the poems were authentic examples of "true" poetry in Hamann's sense.

Shortly before his departure from Riga Herder reviewed for the *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*, 1769, the first volume of Denis's hexametric translation, containing Macpherson's essay on Ossian but not Blair's dissertation,[43] which, as he wrote to Hamann, he would have preferred to Denis's hexametric translation.[44] In his review he compares the translation of Denis with the two Hamburg translations but is able to say nothing in regard to the original.[45]

[37] AL, III (1874) 398.
[38] See two letters quoted by Tombo [449] 102.
[39] Quoted in *Klopstocks Werke*, ed. R. Hamel, DNL, XLVIII xv f.
[40] Herder, *Werke*, V 333.
[41] *Herders Lebensbild*, ed. E. G. von Herder, Erlangen, 1846, I (2) 439.
[42] Herder, *Werke*, II 188.
[43] ADB, X 1 (1769) 63–69. Cf. Herder, *Werke*, IV 320–325.
[44] *Herders Briefe an J. G. Hamann*, ed. O. Hoffmann, Berlin, 1889, 55.
[45] Herder, *Werke*, IV 323 f.

In France, Herder read translations of Ossian into the French language and learned that the opinions of Suard, Turgot, and Diderot in regard to Ossian were as his own, or, one should rather say, that all agreed with Blair. On Herder's return, as he was in danger of shipwreck on the coast of Holland, he read *Fingal*,[46] apparently either in the translation of Wittenberg or of Denis. He had hoped to visit England and Scotland:

Da will ich die Gesänge eines lebenden Volks lebendig hören, sie in alle der Würkung sehen, die sie machen, die Örter sehen, die allenthalben in den Gedichten leben, die Reste dieser alten Welt in ihren Sitten studiren! eine Zeitlang ein alter Kaledonier werden.[47]

Arrived at Amsterdam, Herder received from Nicolai the second volume of Denis's translation and now he had for the first time at his disposal a complete view of Blair's opinions concerning Ossian in particular and poetry in general.

Herder sent to his betrothed, Caroline Flachsland, some Ossianic poems in German, but these were not translations from Macpherson's English, which Herder did not possess, but merely adaptations from Denis's version which, as he wrote to Merck, "in Hexametern und griechischen Sylbenmaßen so sind, wie eine aufgemalte bebalsamte Papierblume gegen jene lebendige, schöne, blühende Tochter der Erde, die auf dem wilden Gehege duftet."[48]

When Herder wrote his "Auszug aus einem Briefwechsel über Ossian und die Lieder alter Völker," published in *Von deutscher Art und Kunst* in 1773, he was obviously strongly under the spell of Blair's dissertation. A critic has recently stressed

"die gemeinsame Unterscheidung von Schotten und Skandinavern, [den] Hinweis auf die verschiedenen Qualitäten ihrer Dichtungsarten, das Heranziehen des identischen Beispiels—des vom 18. Jahrhundert oft besprochenen Liedes von Regner Lodbrog—und die Diskussion der vielen eddischen Metren in einem und demselben Zusammenhang, und die Erwähnung der Poesie der amerikanischen Indianer im Vergleich mit der primitiven Poesie Europas."[49]

In 1771 Goethe sent to Herder translations of Ossian, in the preparation of which he had painfully consulted the Gaelic "original,"[50] which Macpherson had been forced to invent. This so-called Gaelic fragment had first appeared in the third English edition of Macpherson's works, 1765. In the enclosing letter Goethe remarked that the originals gave an entirely different impression from the English translation. This inspired

[46] *Ibid.*, V 169.
[47] *Ibid.*, V 167.
[48] *J. H. Mercks Schriften und Briefwechsel*, ed. K. Wolff, Leipzig, 1909, II 12.
[49] Gillies [462[70.
[50] Goethe, *Werke*, IV (2) 3; Heuer [457] reproduces the original.

Herder with the desire to prosecute similar studies of his own. To that end he accepted Goethe's offer of the copy of Macpherson's Ossian with the Gaelic "original" and kept the book almost a year, 1771–1772. Evidently Herder had now for the first time temporary possession of Macpherson's work. Goethe's comment caused him to lose some faith in Macpherson, but not in Ossian. In a review of the final volume of Denis's translation Herder expressed the hope, 1772, "daß einmal mit Hülfe der Kenntniß Gallischer Sprache, Gallischer Sylbenmaaße und dem ganzen Gefühl deutscher Ahnenstärke und Einfalt, noch einmal ein anderer, ganz neuer Oßian erstehen werde, der an äußerer Gestalt wenig von diesem an sich haben möchte."[51]

As time passed, Herder was compelled to modify his view of Ossian. From E. de Harold, whom he regarded as a good authority, he received a letter in 1775 saying: "I am entirely persuaded that Mr. Macpherson not only is the author of the English translation of Ossian's poems, but also of the Celtic originals which he pretended to have discovered."[52] From now on a note of uncertainty can be detected in Herder's references to Ossian: "Selbst Oßian, er mag nun ächt oder glücklich nachgeahmt seyn . . ." (1776);[53] "Sei Oßian ganz alt, oder nur aus alten Gesängen zusammengesetzt und geschaffen . . ." (1778);[54] "Die Celtische Poesie, so zart und fein sie ist (vielleicht durch Macpherson geworden) . . ." (1779).[55] The latter possibility detracted in no measure from Herder's admiration of the Ossianic poems in the form extant. In a private letter written sometime between 1775 and 1780 Herder wrote:

> Es können nie größere Kontraste in der Welt entstehen als Oßian und Milton in dem, was Dichtung ist; und in mehr als Einem Gesichtspunkte werden Zeiten kommen, die da sagen: Wir schlagen Homer, Virgil und Milton zu, und richten aus Oßian.[56]

Investigations in the British Isles during the next twenty years fostered doubts, but James Macdonald, a Scot, held in high esteem in Weimar, sent Herder in 1796 a long and slightly reassuring letter. Macdonald insisted that Ossian, the son of Fingal, was a bard who had lived and sung in Scotland, though perhaps he was not the composer of the whole body of songs later attributed to him. Furthermore Ossian wrote songs on themes that were treated in Macpherson's poems. Macdonald could not state the exact relation of the Gaelic to the English versions as he had never been able to compare them.[57]

[51] Herder, *Werke*, V 329; cf. ADB, XVII 2 (1772) 446.
[52] Gillies [462] 169.
[53] Herder, *Werke*, VIII 591.
[54] *Ibid.*, VIII 391.
[55] *Ibid.*, IX 317.
[56] *Ibid.*, IX 543. Cf. IX xviii.
[57] Gillies [462] 177.

The growing conviction that the Ossianic poems were in good measure a hoax could not fail to diminish Herder's authority as a critic, yet he could feel that his literary theory, a theory shared by Blackwell and Blair, was still unaffected. It was still true that some bard of a land in a primitive state of culture had produced songs which reflected the character and feelings of his people, and these songs were superior as lyrics to all that the country in its more cultivated state had since produced, and as for Macpherson: "Empfing er nur rohen Stof, und setzte sie mit Schöpferhand zusammen, was er dargestellt hat; um so rühmlicher für ihn." (1796).[58]

It is not true that Herder first made Ossian known to Goethe, whose knowledge of Ossian, as of Shakespeare, dated from his Leipzig period, but Herder's conversations with Goethe in Strassburg took place while Herder was at work on his essay, *Ossian und die Lieder alter Völker* and Herder convinced him that true poetry was the poetry of primitive people. Forthwith Goethe began to collect folk songs in the fields of Alsace, and addressed his poems to Friederike in an unaffected folk tone. He also translated the "Song of Selma" and gave her a copy of it. This translation is not to be confused with the one which he later incorporated in *Werther*. After his return to Frankfurt Goethe joined with Merck, 1773, in publishing an incomplete reprint of the English text of Ossian's songs for the title page of which Goethe drew the design.

The melancholy mood of the Ossianic poems is due in good measure to their view of creation. In his essay Macpherson observed: "There are no traces of religion in the poems ascribed to Ossian"; and again: "We find no deity in Ossian's poetry if fate is none. . . ." More precisely the metaphysical element is pantheistic rather than fatalistic. Individuals are constantly fused with nature. In the passage which Werther recited to Lotte there are examples enough.

Du warst schnell, o Morar, wie ein Reh auf dem Hügel, schrecklich wie die Nachtfeuer am Himmel. Dein Grimm war ein Sturm, dein Schwert in der Schlacht wie Wetterleuchten über der Heide. Deine Stimme glich dem Waldstrome nach dem Regen, dem Donner auf fernen Hügeln. Manche fielen von deinem Arm, die Flamme deines Grimmes verzehrte sie. Aber wenn du wiederkehrtest vom Kriege, wie friedlich war deine Stimme! Dein Angesicht war gleich der Sonne nach dem Gewitter, gleich dem Monde in der schweigenden Nacht, ruhig deine Brust wie der See, wenn sich des Windes Brausen gelegt hat.

and again:

Daura, meine Tochter, du warst schön! Schön wie der Mond auf den Hügeln von Fura, weiß wie der gefallene Schnee, süß wie die atmende Luft! Arindal, dein Bogen war

[58] Herder, *Werke*, XVIII 452.

stark, dein Speer schnell auf dem Felde, dein Blick wie Nebel auf der Welle, dein Schild eine Feuerwolke im Sturme!

Werther and kindred souls denied the existence of a personal God and professed faith in an all-God, including nature and man. Only such a god was traceable in the ancient songs of Ossian. Thus Ossian became the Bible of the new religion, the religion "eines Pantheismus seltsam Rousseauischer Färbung."[59] But the new convert was not happy in the loss of a personal God-father and, as Schöffler says: "Er tut, was das plötzlich allein gelassene Kind stets getan hat, er weint,"[60] and as there was also nothing in the new religion which forbade a being to give up its identity and return to nature, Werther's reading of Ossian to Lotte immediately before the climax of his sufferings seems thus appropriate, even inevitable.

In consonance with Schiller's totally different view of the world, his relation to Ossian could be at most superficial. Despite its Hellenic theme there is a dash of Ossianic rhetoric in "Hektors Abschied." It has been compared with a translation of *Carrik Thura* made in 1781 by Schiller's friend Hoven.[61] Peterson, another member of Schiller's circle of that time, edited in Tübingen in 1782 the poems of Ossian newly translated by Heerbrandt.

One of the last authors to become affected by the Ossianic mood was Ludwig Tieck. In his youth when the "Sturm und Drang" literature was at its zenith he fell upon *Götz von Berlichingen*, *Die Räuber*, and the dramas of Shakespeare. Later he came upon Ossian, perhaps about the year 1789, or shortly before writing his *Almansor* and *Allamodin*, both of which are laden with Ossianic echoes and paraphernalia, with marchings to battle and battle songs, heroic deaths and reappearances of the heroic dead, and nature dimmed by the Ossianic haze. *Die eiserne Maske, eine schottische Geschichte*, 1792, is one of the last works of his "dämonisch-schauerliche Richtung." This novel was begun by Rambach, who in his introduction stated definitely that it had been his first intention to place the story in the Ossianic age. He enumerated several reasons for giving up this plan but added: "Dies alles hielt mich indessen noch nicht ab, die Hauptideen Ossians beizubehalten."[62] Rambach borrowed nearly all the names for his characters from the Ossianic poems and most of the atmosphere, as well as the technique of narration. For this work Tieck wrote a part of the seventh chapter and all of the eighth, the concluding chapter. To the earlier chapters he also contributed two poems in the Ossianic style.

[59] Schöffler [459] 14.
[60] *Ibid.*, p. 26.
[61] Cf. Fielitz [465].
[62] See Hemmer [466] 374.

Regarding this style, as we have seen, views were widely divergent. As in literature, so in art the concept ranged from the Homeric Greek to the almost modern. The numerous vignettes and frontispieces representing Ossian and the Ossianic heroes in collections of poetry during the eighteenth century pictured them sometimes naked, like David, sometimes in the mailed armor of the fifteenth century, and sometimes clothed in a vaguely Tyrolean costume of romantic origin.[63]

Before the end of the century Goethe began to speak disparagingly of his whilom ideal. While planning, with the help of Reichard, to write an opera with an Ossianic background he wrote:

Schon habe ich in Gedancken, Fingaln, Ossianen, Schwanen und einigen nordischen Heldinnen und Zauberinnen die Opern-Stelzen untergebunden und lasse sie vor mir auf und abspaziren. Um so etwas zu machen muß man alles poetische Gewissen, alle poetische Scham nach dem edeln Beyspiel der Italiäner ablegen.[64]

With a similar irony Goethe referred to Ossian in 1829 in a conversation with Henry Crabb Robinson. Robinson reports:

Something led him to speak of Ossian with contempt. I remarked: "The taste for Ossian is to be ascribed to you in a great measure. It was *Werther* that set the fashion." He smiled and said: "That's partly true; but it was never perceived by the critics that Werther praised Homer while he retained his senses and Ossian when he was going mad. But reviewers do not notice such things." I reminded Goethe that Napoleon loved Ossian. "It was the contrast with his own nature," Goethe replied; "he loved soft and melancholy music. *Werther* was among his books at St. Helena."[65]

More seriously Goethe made reference to Ossian in a review of *Volkslieder der Serben*. Here he distinguished the genuine folk poetry of the Serbs from the artificial poetry of Macpherson's Ossian: "Es ist nicht wie mit dem nordwestlichen Ossianischen Wolkengebilde, das als gestaltlos, epidemisch und contagiös in ein schwaches Jahrhundert sich hereinsenkte und sich mehr als billigen Antheil erward."[66]

It is true the furor for the fictitious Ossian had its ridiculous aspects, but before it died out German literature was better off because of the attack. An indispensable essay by Herder, and a classic passage in *Werther* were among its products and at the end there was more accurate distinction between Celts, Scandinavians, and Germans, and a new conception of "wahre Poesie."

[63] Van Tieghem [451] 255.
[64] Goethe, *Werke*, IV (18) 41; letter to J. P. Reichardt, November 8, 1790; cf. letter to Reichardt, December 10, 1790; Goethe, *Werke*, IV (9) 165.
[65] Robinson, *Diary*, II 432; August 2, 1829.
[66] Goethe, *Werke*, I (42) 251.

Chapter XI

PERCY'S *RELIQUES* AND THE GERMAN FOLK SONG

Thomas Percy, bishop of Dromore, showed in various ways his interest in primitive poetry. He sponsored the publication in English of the Chinese story *Haou Kiou Chien*, found in a Portuguese manuscript, 1761, and published *Five Pieces of Runic Poetry, translated from the Islandic*, 1763, followed by his version of the *Song of Solomon, newly translated from the original Hebrew*, 1764. A few years later in the preface to his translation of Mallet's *Introduction à l'histoire du Danemarck*, 1770, he made the much needed distinction between the Germanic and the Celtic races. To posterity he is chiefly known, however, as the collector of the *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, 1765. According to his own account he rescued from the hands of a serving maid, who was about to kindle a fire, a folio manuscript containing a collection of folk songs; to these he added others from the Pepys Collection at Cambridge, friends of note contributed still others, and he was thus enabled to publish a large body of verse in 1765, five years after Macpherson's *Ossian* had prepared the public for it.

He prefaced his collection with apologies which seem uncalled for, in view of the favor which such songs had found in the British Isles. Sir Philip Sidney was one of the first defenders of folk poetry. In his *Apologie for Poetry* he said, as later Herder did, that the poetic feeling was universal and was to be found "even among Turks and Indians." He said he never heard the old song "Percy and Douglas" ("Chevy Chase"), no matter how badly rendered by "some blinde crouder," without finding his heart "mooved more then with a trumpet;"[1] but, like Addison and unlike Herder, he used the classics as his standard of judgment and said that the ballad would be still more powerful in a Pindaric measure. The Elizabethan age had not scorned popular poetry. Wandering singers told before Queen Elizabeth the tales of Robin Hood and Adam Bell, and Shakespeare met the taste of his time in preserving and creating so many folk songs. The revolution and restoration brought the folk song into disrepute for a short time, but Addison opened up a new period of interest with his *Spectator*. He said that Lord Dorset and Dryden both shared his admiration of popular poetry[2] and asserted that the ballad "Percy and

[1] *Spectator*, no. 70. The *Chevy Chase*, which Addison quotes, was not, however, the one which "mooved" Sidney, but a greatly modified version of more recent date. Cf. Percy, *Reliques . . .*, ed. Wheatley, London, 1910, I 23 and I 252.

[2] *Spectator*, no. 85.

Douglas" is not inferior to the poetry of Homer, Vergil,[3] and Milton in majesty and simplicity, to which Dr. Wagstaffe mockingly retorted that there was much of the Vergilian spirit in "Tom Thumb." Unabashed, Prior and others began to imitate the old ballads. In 1723 a collection of ballads appeared citing Addison's words by way of apology, and in 1724 Ramsey produced his collection of old Scottish songs. Percy still hesitated to publish his *Reliques*, nor would he have ventured it but for the encouragement of such friends as Addison, William Shenstone, and Samuel Johnson.[4]

Since the time his *Reliques* appeared, Percy's name has been connected with the revival of interest in popular poetry not only in England but in Germany as well. Extreme assertions have been made in regard to Germany and the entire relation needs cautious reëxamination. In Germany, an interest in folk poetry had begun to manifest itself before the middle of the eighteenth century. In the earliest days the perpetuation of folk songs was dependent entirely upon oral tradition, but from the fifteenth century on there were written collections, which became more numerous with the general introduction of printing.[5] Then racial pride came to the support of the folk song as the Germanic past was gradually discovered. Tacitus's *Germania* became known in 1460, the elder *Edda* in 1642. Early writers like Mallet, in his before-mentioned *Introduction*, and Klopstock in his bardic songs, confused races and made no distinction between Cymbrians, Scandinavians, Anglo-Saxons, and ancient Germans.

Gerstenberg, as we have seen,[6] in his *Briefe über die Merkwürdigkeiten der Literatur* was better informed. In the eighth of these letters, 1766,[7] he gave specimens of Danish songs from the *Kiämpe-Viiser*, which Herder later included in his collection. At the same time Gerstenberg began to voice his protest against the cold poetry of pure reflexion and commended the *Reliques* to his readers.

In his *Inquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer*, 1735, Blackwell had written: "Poetry was before prose." Hamann listened to the songs of the peasants of Kurland and Livland and applied his observations to the study of the Homeric measure,[8] and in his *Sokratische Denkwürdigkeiten*, 1759, he recast Blackwell's plain statement into the memorable form: "Poesie ist die Muttersprache des menschlichen Geschlechtes."

Herder's interest in the folksong was doubtless first kindled by Hamann,

[3] *Ibid.*, no. 74.
[4] Percy, *Reliques*, 1910; I 8, 12, 14.
[5] Kircher [475] 3.
[6] See p. 126, above.
[7] DLD, XXIX (1890) 59–62.
[8] See Pfau [455] and Förster, *Bemühungen um das Volkslied vor Herder*, Programm, Marburg, 1913.

and without the example of Percy he would doubtless have supported this new thesis sooner or later with an anthology of folksongs, for he began his collection before 1765,[9] prompted perhaps by the runic odes of Mallet, 1756, and by the German translations of Macpherson's poetry. The *Reliques* no doubt served to heighten his ardor. He received them from Raspe on August 4, 1771.[10] He read Percy along with "Ossian," Shaftesbury, and Shakespeare assiduously during the lonely Bückeburg period 1771 and began the first draft of his essay *Über Ossian und die Lieder alter Völker*. As a result of its publication in 1773 the German concept of folksong was narrowed down somewhat but it still remained wider and vaguer than Percy's. Herder applied the term only occasionally to songs of antiquarian, historical, and nationalistic interest, which Percy had almost solely in view and more frequently to poems which can readily be sung, and to the songs of primitive life in his own day and in the past.

By dint of this last inclusion Herder came perhaps unwittingly into competition with Percy. It is not certain that he knew Percy to have been the translator of the anonymously published *Song of Songs*, 1764, for he made no mention of him in his *Lieder der Liebe*, 1778. Both translators followed the controversy regarding the poems, in which Benjamin Kennicott, Robert Lowth, and Thomas Harmer in England, and D. M. Michaelis in Germany participated. Percy took pains to deny his agreement with Michaelis, that the songs were in no sense allegorical, hence strictly secular and therefore to be excluded from the Scripture, but this was little more than a sop to the orthodox. In reality for him as for Herder their beauty was sufficient to demand inclusion.[11] Herder denied the allegorical intent of the poems, but defended their place in the Bible. "Es ist ein abgeschmackter Wahn unsres Lustrums, daß die Bibel eine Spreu-Tenne kahler Moralen und trockener Akroame seyn müße."[12] The songs were at any rate a genuine document, "ein Abdruck nehmlich von dem Geschmack, von der Liebe, von der Üppigkeit und Zier, wie sie zu Salomons Zeit, und sonst nimmer im Hebräischen Volk lebten."[13] For him they were "Liebeslieder einfältiger unverkünstelter Völker," and therefore as genuine as the songs of Ossian.[14] Goethe agreed with Herder's interpretation of the songs and exalted them for similar reasons in comments on the *Westöstlicher Divan*.[15] At the time of his first tutelage under

[9] *Herders Lebensbild*, ed. E. G. von Herder, Erlangen, 1846, I (3:1) xv and Lohre [474] 9.
[10] R. Haym, *Herder* . . ., Berlin, 1880, I 473.
[11] Clark [492] 1091–1095.
[12] Herder, *Werke*, VIII 543.
[13] *Ibid.*, VIII 535.
[14] *Ibid.*, VIII 591.
[15] Goethe, *Werke*, I (7) 7 f.

Herder, Goethe's conception of the folk song was more restricted, and for him it was enough to go out into the fields of Alsace and collect twelve songs, two of which went into Herder's collection.

Bielschowsky says with but little exaggeration: "Der Tau des Volksliedes entwickelte Goethes Lyrik über Nacht zu voller Blütenpracht. Duftigere Lieder als das 'Mailied' und das 'Heidenröslein' und stimmungsvollers als 'Willkommen und Abschied' hat Goethe nicht mehr gedichtet,"[16] but Lohre reminds us: "so wehte die Luft am Rheine selbst zu liederreich, um einem Einspinnen in die fremde Welt günstig zu sein,"[17] and no one can assert that his "Erlkönig" and his "König in Thule" so much resemble the British ballads of the Percy collection that they could have no other inspiration.

Granted that the love of the folk song had a spontaneous origin in Germany, the Percy collection lent sanction from first to last to the new taste and served as a model for the German collectors. In the earliest review of the *Reliques* in Germany the critic Raspe expressed the desire for a German Percy.[18] Gerstenberg commended Percy to his readers the next year. Boie planned a collection of English songs but hesitated to compete with Herder, until Herder in a private letter of July 3, 1776, gave him a free hand with respect to Percy.[19] The collection was never published, but Boie printed many folk songs in the *Deutsches Museum*, 1776–1791, and other contemporary journals were almost equally hospitable to such poetry.[20] Boie's "Lore am Tore" is an adaptation of Henry Carey's "Sally in our alley." Under the name of Daniel Wunderlich, Bürger called for a German Percy in 1776, and in his *Herzensausguß über Volkspoesie* he hoped for a collection in no respect inferior to the English. His actual knowledge of the English collection at that time, to be sure, may have been derived exclusively from Herder's essay on Ossian of 1773. Herder had said: "Glauben Sie mir, daß wenn wir in unseren Provinzialliedern, jeder in seiner Provinz nachsuchten, wir vielleicht noch Stücke zusammenbrächten, vielleicht die Hälfte der Dodslei'schen Sammlung von *Reliques*, aber die derselben beinahe an Werth gleich käme!"[21] In the same year Voss followed in the footsteps of Percy and Herder and urged his friends to collect old songs such as he believed he had heard in Mecklenburg, and in 1775 he offered himself to the Markgraf von Baden as a "Landdichter."

[16] Bielschowsky, *Goethe* . . ., ed. 16, München, 1908, I 120.
[17] Lohre [474] 24.
[18] NBSWFK, I (1765) 176 and II (1766) 54–89.
[19] Karl Weinhold, *Heinrich Christian Boie*, Halle, 1868, 182.
[20] *Re* these translations see Wagener [473].
[21] Herder, *Werke*, V 190.

The advance of the folk song in Germany was by no means uncontested even after the appearance of Herder's essay, and one of the earliest and doughtiest opponents was the rationalist Nicolai. He tried in vain to secure for his campaign the support of Lessing, who had already shown a favoring interest in the folk song.[22] With Ramler he was more successful.[23] Nicolai's *Feyner, kleyner Almanach vol schonerr echterr liblicherr Volckslieder, lustigerr Reyen undt kleglicherr Mordgeschichten*, 1777, was intended as a jibe especially at Bürger's *Herzensausguß* and Herder's *Briefwechsel über Ossian*. It deterred the collectors in no wise, but served rather to point the way to new sources. In the same year an enthusiastic amateur collector, Ursinus, produced a volume of no great merit, entitled *Balladen und Lieder altenglischer und altschottischer Dichtart*, 1777. Only two of the poems, "Lord Thomas and Fair Ellinor" and "King Leir," were especially translated for this collection; the others were reprints. As an introduction to the collection, Eschenburg translated Percy's essay on the ancient minstrels in England, which had appeared simultaneously with the *Reliques*. The romantic ideas here expressed had already been corrected in England. This moderately good work of Ursinus was received with great favor by the public and by critics like Boie and Bürger.

Herder's collection, *Alte Volkslieder, englisch und deutsch zusammen*, was completed in 1773, was sent to the printer, but as a result of some difficulties was withdrawn. The second book of this collection was entitled "*Lieder aus Shakespear.*" It is noteworthy that this Shakespeare collection, in its original form of 1773, was based exclusively on Dodd's *Beauties of Shakespeare*.[24] During 1772–1774 Herder sent some translations from the *Reliques* to the *Göttinger Musenalmanach*.[25] These were, however, not folk songs. Early in 1778 he sent his manuscript again to the printer. The work appeared in four volumes. The plan was now broader in its scope, and many nations were included. The selections were different and, where the old songs were retained, revisions had been made in their rendering. The older form imitated the original poems more closely; the newer translations were more highly polished. In the new draft Herder abandoned an ethnographic for an esthetic arrangement. The introductions to the first, third, and fourth volumes were later fused into an essay *Von Ähnlichkeiten der mittleren englischen und deutschen Dichtung*, 1777, which constituted an inquiry into the origin and development of folk song. Into his *Volkslieder* of 1778 Herder took over some

[22] Lessing, *Schriften*, VIII 75.
[23] Lessing, *Briefwechsel mit Karl Wilhelm Ramler*, Berlin, 1794, 372 f., 381, 387–391.
[24] Leitzmann [816] 61.
[25] For a list see Lohre [474] 20.

poems from Percy which were not folk songs, but he did not fail to include the best of the popular ballads, such as "Edward," "Patrick Spence," and "Chevy Chase." He continued his interest in the folk song, added to his collection, and laid plans for a new edition of the collection "vermehrt, nach Ländern, Zeiten, Sprachen, Nationen geordnet und aus ihnen erklärt, eine lebendige Stimme der Völker, ja der Menschheit selbst,"[26] thus returning to the ethnographic principle which he had abandoned in 1777. He died soon after sketching this plan, 1803, but others had begun to carry on the work he had started in 1773, notably Bodmer and Bothe.

Shortly after the publication of Herder's *Volkslieder* appeared two of the most remarkable of the early collections, Bodmer's *Altenglische Balladen*, 1780, and his *Altenglische und altschwäbische Balladen*, 1781. Bodmer was led to this production by his interest in English literature and in the Middle Ages. Since Herder's collection included songs of many peoples it could include few from any one country. Bodmer gave German translations of Percy more abundantly than any predecessor. The first volume contained twenty-five numbers from Percy, and the next thirteen. Bodmer preferred ballads of knightly content, but he selected genuine folk songs, avoiding the affected and artificial. The tinge of Swiss dialect becomes them well, but they are often unmusical and monotonous. The staunch advocate of rhymeless verse began bravely to rhyme in his eighty-second year and was well pleased with his results. In the introduction to the second volume he called particular attention to the strophe:

> Über die Haide hinweg im Grunde
> Sich schmiegend, wohin kein Auge kunnte,
> Schnitten die Beiden sich fort à leur aise
> Etliche Bissen von frischem Käse.

The next important collection did not appear until 1795. In Friedrich Heinrich Bothe's *Volkslieder, nebst untermischten anderen Stücken* about half of the numbers were from Percy. In making his selections Bothe showed that he did not fear competition with Ursinus and Bodmer, but he avoided the pieces that Herder had translated, thereby excluding some of the best Percy ballads.

Bothe's was the last German anthology of the century to draw to any extent upon the *Reliques*, but Kosegarten, beginning 1800 in the *Göttinger Musenalmanach*, Haug, in the second volume of his *Epigramme und vermischte Gedichte*, Berlin, 1805, and Seckendorf, in his *Musenalmanach*, 1807–1808, brought new translations from Percy of varying

[26] Herder, *Werke*, XXIV 266.

value. From 1795 on, however, interest in the German folk song predominated. One of the most active of the collectors and commentators was one Gräter, who in his *Bragur* made many valuable contributions to the study of the folk song and laid down a program for a collection of songs that should be representative of various Germanic ethnographic groups and the various classes. In the 1790's the *Bragur* was in fact the chief organ of the lovers of the folk song[27] and a direct predecessor of *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*. Gräter sent forth a call for the music of the folk songs in an article founded upon a Scottish essay which he had discovered and translated. The essay had been written by William Tytler and read before the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland.

A final question concerns the influence of the Percy collection on Bürger's "Lenore" in particular. Previous to the year 1773 the ballad was usually the product of the "Bänkelsänger," and its usual theme was some grotesque "Mordgeschichte." Bürger's earlier ballads were of this type, but his "Lenore" marks a turn to a somewhat more serious treatment. From the beginning, the critics repeated the statement that "Lenore" was the first fruit of the interest in Percy, and accepted the assertion that the *Reliques* were Bürger's "Handbuch," his "Morgen- und Abendandacht" as early as 1769 or 1770.[28] These errors go back to Bürger's earliest biographer, Althof.[29] To him Boie wrote in 1794: "Mein Handbuch waren damals Percys *Relicks* und sie wurden auch das seinige, ohne auf seinen Geist zu wirken, wie sie nachher gethan haben,"[30] but, as the context shows, the word "damals" refers not to 1769–1770 but rather to 1771, and even so Boie's memory was at fault, for until 1773 neither of them possessed a copy of the collection. Boie wrote to Merck early in that year: "Ich besitze jetzt auch das *Tea-Table Miscellany* und erwarte mit nächster Gelegenheit die *Reliques* aus England."[31] The records of the Göttingen library do not show that Bürger drew out the book from there. At most he may have seen a contemporary Göttingen reprint, 1762, of eleven songs from Percy.

Bürger wrote to Boie, it is true: "Sie [die Reliques] sind meine Morgen- und Abendandacht" but this passage too was long passed from critic to critic with no date or the wrong date attached, but always with

[27] See list in Lohre [474] 132–133. Cf. *ibid.*, 107.

[28] Beyer [487] cleared up the error which had prevailed from the time of Althof, Voss, and Schlegel down to Bonet-Maury [484] in 1889.

[29] Althof, *Einige Nachrichten von den vornehmsten Lebensumständen G. A. Bürgers . . .*, Göttingen, 1798, 28 and 37.

[30] *Briefe von und an Bürger*, ed. Strodtmann, Berlin, 1874, IV 259. Since Boie's memory is faulty in specific details, little emphasis can be placed on another passage in the same letter referring to "Lenore." "Die Einsamkeit auf dem Lande zündete noch den Funken, der aus den *Relicks* noch bei ihm glomm." *Ibid.*, IV 262.

[31] *Briefe an J. H. Merck . . .*, ed. Wagner, Darmstadt, 1825, 16.

the implication that it referred to the early Göttingen period. In reality the statement appears in a letter to Boie, April 7, 1777.[32] This was a critical year in Bürger's life. His relations with his wife's sister, "Molly," disturbed his peace of mind, he was beginning to doubt his dramatic talent, and he had postponed indefinitely his plan of writing a great national epic. Even for the ballad he no longer felt any strong impulse. In this frame of mind he visited Boie for a few weeks in Hannover at the end of February, 1777, returning at the beginning of April. During this visit Boie called his attention quite particularly to the *Reliques*, and Bürger thanked him for it on his return. It was now that Percy became his "Morgen- und Abendandacht." A little later Boie mailed to him his copy of the *Reliques*. On June 19, 1777, Bürger wrote to Boie: "Deinen Brief mit den *Old Ballads* habe ich erhalten und bin drüber hergefallen wie die Fliege auf die Milch. . . . Seit ich die *Reliques* lese, ist ein gewaltiges Chaos balladischer Ideen in mir entstanden."[33] Previous to 1777 Bürger nowhere displayed a greater familiarity with the collection than that which might have been obtained from Herder's essay and the extracts in the *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*. It was not until his return from Hannover in 1777 that he began to produce such translations as "Bruder Graurock," "Die Entführung," and "Des Schäfers Liebeswerbung."

With these traditional errors disposed of, the real origins of Bürger's "Lenore" begin to come to light. Stylistically its direct ancestor was the "Bänkelgesang." "'Lenore' ist moritatenhaft aufgeputscht mit allen erdenklichen Mitteln, die Bürger aufbringen konnte."[34] It was intended for declamation, and to superinduce shudders in the hearers. To this end Bürger tried out various versions to different audiences during the several months of its preparation. He recognized its relation to the "Bänkelgesang" in his correspondence with Boie.[35] In the midst of the work appeared Herder's *Briefwechsel über Ossian und die Lieder alter Völker*, which stressed the value of folk song and hymns. The influence of the church song is evident in Bürger's poetry, to be sure, as early as 1772, but in "Lenore" line and line again is taken from the hymn book and the whole could be sung, with slight adaptation, to the melody of "Was Gott tut, das ist wohl getan."[36]

The theme of "Lenore" was taken, not, as has often been said, from "Sweet William's Ghost" but from local tradition. However, the plots

[32] *Briefe von und an Bürger*, II 61.
[33] *Ibid.*, 87.
[34] Sternitzke [488] 22.
[35] *Briefe von und an Bürger*, I 131 and 176.
[36] Reuschel in *Euphorion*, XXIV (1922) 164 f.

of the two poems have much in common and, moreover, the English song has several traits in common with the German "Bänkelgesang." A comparison of the two poems shows that many a strain of the one went into the other.[37] Bürger, however, first read "Sweet William's Ghost" not in the Percy collection, but probably in Ramsay's *Tea-Table Miscellany* as translated by Herder in his essay on Ossian. At all events he was familiar with the English original.[38]

Shakespeare too quite certainly had his share in the development of Bürger's "Lenore." Bürger's enthusiasm for Shakespeare was at its height, and what particularly appealed to him was the uncanny element. To Boie he wrote in May, 1776, that if "Lenore" is read under favorable conditions, "so sollen allen die Haare, wie in Macbeth, zu Berge stehen,"[39] and in the following August:

> I could a tale unfold, whose lightest word
> Will harrow up your souls, freeze your young blood,
> Make your two eyes, like stars, start from their spheres
> Your knotty and combined locks to part,
> And each particular hair to stand on end,
> Like quills upon the fretful porcupine.[40]

There are many verses in "Lenore" reminiscent of Shakespeare: "Den Hagedorn durchsaust der Wind," "Schläfst, Liebchen, oder wachst du?", "Ich wittre Morgenluft."[41] It may be added that Bürger's "Lenardo und Blandine," which immediately followed "Lenore," is a product of the misuse of Shakespeare rather than the wise use of the English ballad, "Little Musgrave and Lady Barnard." Bürger may well have come upon the theme in Boccaccio but there is evidence that he probably knew the English version as well.[42]

In 1777, immediately after his inspiring visit with Boie, Bürger began to utilize energetically material derived from the *Reliques*. In that year he wrote "Bruder Graurock und die Pilgerin," "Des Schäfers Liebeswerbung," "Die Entführung," and "Frau Schnips." "Der Kaiser und der Abt," and "Graf Walter" appeared much later, 1785 and 1789. The degree of dependence on the *Reliques* in these compositions is various.[43]

The other members of the "Göttinger Bund" did not concern them-

[37] Blömker [218] 14–17.
[38] *Ibid.*, 16.
[39] *Briefe von und an Bürger*, I 120.
[40] *Ibid.*, I 132.
[41] *King Lear* III 4, v. 47; *ibid.*, III 6, v. 43; *Hamlet*, I 5, v. 58.
[42] Blömker [218] 24.
[43] *Ibid.*, 27–50; cf. Wicke [237] 66–68. The English poems in question are: "The friar of orders gray," "The child of Elle," "The wanton wife of Bath," "King John and the Abbot of Canterbury," "Child Waters," and Marlowe's "The passionate shepherd to his love."

selves particularly with the *Reliques*. Hölty borrowed the copy from the Göttingen library, November 23, 1770, returning it on December 8, and Johann Martin Miller looked at it in the library, but there is no evidence that it made an impression on either of them. Hölty indeed at no time laid much stress upon the Percy ballads. The suggestion for his "Adelstan und Röschen" might have come from several sources other than Percy.[44] Miller showed the influence of Percy only to the extent of selecting Marlowe's "The Passionate Shepherd to His Love," one of the least popular of the poems in the collection, for translation, 1773. Voss's first adaptation from the *Reliques*, "Der Flausrock" ("Take thy old cloak about thee") did not appear until 1790.

Meanwhile other groups were busy elsewhere, as we have seen, some translating old English verses for journals and collections, others proceeding from translation to adaptation. Goethe with his "Rastlose Liebe," 1776, which is related to "Love will Find a Way," and as late as 1816 with his ballad "Die Kinder hören es gerne," adapted from "The Beggar's Daughter of Bednall Green," and similarly Uhland and the romanticists and later Dahn, Fontane, and many others.[45]

German interest in the German folk song is not in itself evidence of the influence of Percy. What is the specific difference in the qualities of English and German folk poetry, and was the English quality, if it existed, conveyed in any measure to the German folk song through the medium of Percy's collection? To distinguish the specific influence of the English folk song from the general influence of the Germanic folk song is a problem which would tax the subtlest criticism to little profit. It must be remembered that the old folk song originated at a period in the Middle Ages when the English, Scotch, and German peoples were more alike than later in temperament and view of the world, that is to say, before the British trend toward collectivism and the German toward individualism had developed.

It remains true that the Percy collection was an important factor in the development of the newer and more natural poetry, operating by dint of its superiority, if not by its priority. The demand for a German collection was expressed in terms of a demand for a German Percy. When opposition arose to the ancient and simpler poetry, the Percy collection served as sanction for the enthusiasts; and when later a more dangerous apathy set in, the English interest in the songs of Percy helped to keep alive the German zeal until at length *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* appeared, and the value of the folk song was definitely established.

[44] Beyer [487] 4 f. and Rhoades [251] 22, 24, 26, 35 f.
[45] Boyd [476].

Chapter XII

THE MORALIZING DRAMA

Since the time of Corneille the heroic tragedy had stood in high repute and France had maintained a solitary preëminence in that branch of literature. Addison ventured upon it with some trepidation with his *Cato*, 1713, and awaited the approval of Pope before making it known. Voltaire later called *Cato* "le seule tragédie bien écrite d'un bout à l'autre chez votre nation;"[1] and Haller, in 1723, agreed with him almost verbally, noting in his *Tagebuch* that the English nation has produced little in the realm of tragedy "wo nicht *Cato* und einige andere Stücke diesen Ruhm verdienen."[2]

In the attempt to improve upon Addison, Deschamps produced two years later a *Caton d'Utique*, which met with a cool reception in France and a cold one in England, despite the support of Addison's political enemies. Shortly after this time Gottsched began his campaign for the purification of the German stage. Having determined to drive out the irregularities, vulgarisms, and obscenities that the English comedians and Italian improvisers had introduced and to put in their place the polite conventions of the regular drama, he found it necessary first to provide a repertoire of plays that filled his requirements. Since his ideals were based largely upon French practice, it was natural for him to begin with translations. But original plays were to follow, and in 1731 he produced as his first "original" his own *Der sterbende Cato*, put together, as Bodmer and Lessing said, "mit Kleister und Schere" out of the plays of Addison and Deschamps.[3] Of 1648 verses, 174 are original with Gottsched, the remainder are translated from the English and French.[4] Of the two dramas Gottsched chose the weaker one as his basis, because it was the more "correct," but he chose Addison's fifth act as the more moral, for in Deschamps's play the hero takes his own life. Naturally the foreign conclusion fits but imperfectly upon Deschamps's exposition and development.

Even as a book drama Gottsched's *Cato* was distinctly successful and had passed into its tenth edition by 1757.[5] As a stage production it might almost be called epoch-making, for Gottsched had already formed his

[1] Voltaire, *Oeuvres*, XXI 194 (Epitre à Mylord Bolingbroke).

[2] A. v. Haller, *Tagebuch seiner Reisen . . .*, 1723–1727, ed Hirzel. Leipzig, 1883, 13.

[3] Lessing, *Schriften*, VIII 42. Cf. Bibliography [321]. Addison's *Cato* was thrice translated into German prose, Frau Gottsched 1735, Anon. 1758, and Anon. 1763; and twice into German verse, Felss 1803, and Boehler 1863. See Hegnauer [320] 104. *Re* Addison's *Drummer* see Beam [164] 36.

[4] Crüger [319] 38.

[5] Hegnauer [320] 108.

alliance with the Neuberin, and her company produced the play with notable success in Leipzig. It was above all the last act which met with favor. The company then took *Cato* on a trip through Germany. Presented as the first "regular" German Alexandrine original, it was a success in Dresden, Braunschweig, Hannover, Hamburg, Nuremberg, Strassburg, and St. Petersburg. Everywhere it paved the way for the purified tragedy, and Gottsched was able to include in his *Deutsche Schaubühne*, 1741–1745, Pitschel's *Darius*, Johann Elias Schlegel's *Hermann* and *Dido*, Quistorp's *Aurelius*, Grimm's *Banise*, Krüger's *Mahomet IV*, and Frau Gottsched's *Panthea*.

Addison's *Cato* found imitators in England as well, among them Young with his *Busiris*, 1719, and *The Revenge*, 1721, and Thomson with his *Sophonisba*, 1727, and *Agamemnon*, 1738. All four of these plays were translated into German between 1750 and 1758. In 1758 Brawe wrote his tragedy *Brutus*, the chief literary models of which were Lessing's dramatic fragment *Kleonnis*, Voltaire's *Mahomet*, Addison's *Cato*, and especially Young's *Revenge*.

These were all plays that violated none of the proprieties which Gottsched had so unequivocally defined in his *Versuch einer critischen Dichtkunst*, 1742:

> Helden und Prinzen gehören in die Tragödie, aber . . . die Comödie ist nichts anderes, als eine Nachahmung einer lasterhaften Handlung, die durch ihr lächerliches Wesen den Zuschauer belustigen, aber auch zugleich erbauen kann. . . . Die Personen, die zur Comödie gehören, sind ordentliche Bürger, oder doch Leute von mäßigem Stande, dergleichen auch wohl zur Noth Barons, Marquis und Grafen sind; nicht, als wenn die Großen dieser Welt keine Thorheiten zu begehen pflegten, die lächerlich wären; nein, sondern weil es wider die Ehrerbiethung läuft, die man ihnen schuldig ist, sie als auslachenswürdig vorzustellen.[6]

The aristocratic convention which confined tragedy to the great and comedy to the middle and lower classes Gottsched inherited, like the greater part of his dramatic theory, from the French. The dramas of the Italians and Spaniards failed to receive his approval, and of the entire English drama he singles out Addison's *Cato* for favorable mention and for imitation. But while he was exerting himself in Germany to perpetuate the traditional aristocratic division between comedy and tragedy, it was already breaking down in France as a result of the democratic tendency of the time with its attendant enlightened ideas, and a more radical change was taking place in England.

The new well-to-do middle class in France was made up largely of capable persons from the lower walks of life, chosen to fill executive or

[6] *Op. cit.*, Leipzig, 1742, 162 f., 439 f., 743.

legal positions of state (*noblesse de robe*) and of individuals of wealth who were able to lend money to the crown or the nobility. Both these classes had lost touch, to a certain extent, with their humble origins and were now associating with the nobility, though not quite on a footing of equality. The situation of the new middle class in England was even more fortunate. This class had grown rich in trade, often in foreign trade. It felt itself to be one of the most essential factors in England's strength, and far from seeking entrance into aristocratic circles it assumed toward them an attitude of dignified reserve, a position of equality, if not superiority.

In the breakdown of the aristocratic convention in literature it is little wonder then that a more conservative course was followed in France. The tragedy still remained there the exclusive terrain of the great, but for the benefit of the middle class the comedy was elevated in tone. It began to take an earnest view of middle-class life, and present admirable representatives of the class on the stage, along with the traditional ludicrous or culpable figures. Nivelle de la Chaussée was one of the first to make serious moral conflicts and tragic situations the basis of his plays. This type of play was called by its detractors the "comédie larmoyante." Even Voltaire could not hold himself aloof from the new tendency (*Nanine*). Its theoretic defender was Diderot, the author of *Le Fils naturel*, 1757, and *Le Pére de famille*, 1758.

Needless to say the national division was not strict. The sentimental comedy, represented in England by Cibber, Steele, and his successors, found favor there, and as early as 1747 in Germany. Johann Elias Schlegel wrote to Bodmer in 1757 that Steele's *The Tender Husband* had given him the first suggestion for a play (*Der Triumph der guten Frauen*, 1748).[7] To the "comédie larmoyante" Gottsched was not consistently opposed. He included in his *Deutsche Schaubühne* three translations of comedies by Destouches and of Molière's comedies only *Le Misanthrope*. The admission of Destouches paved the way for the acceptance of the "weinerliche Comödie" of Gellert, and even the inclusion of the original plays of Frau Gottsched, *Die ungleiche Heirat*, *Die Hausfranzösinn*, and *Das Testament* implies some relaxation of his rules. Conventional characters with specific faults still play a role in these dramas, but serious realistic characters form the center of interest. When Voltaire's *Nanine*, distantly related to Richardson's *Pamela*, appeared, Gottsched at first condemned it as belonging to a hybrid genre but later quoted Destouches as sanction for it and preferred it to plays of the Molière type. English comedies were condemned on principle in the *Schaubühne* because of their indecen-

[7] AL, XIV (1886) 50.

cies, their immorality, their frequent change of scene, their unmotivated exits and entrances, and their lack of unity. For all this Gottsched was able to quote *The Rehearsal* of the Duke of Buckingham. He especially proscribed the works of Centlivre, Wycherley, Cibber, and Etherege.[8]

While the comedy in France was being elevated for the benefit of the middle classes, the corresponding class in England was boldly taking possession of the tragedy. The new type of tragedy, like the moral weeklies, sought to impress the wisdom of sound morality upon the middle-class public, but the virtue it advocated was not of an exalted nature. Cupidity was too frequently the cause of guilt, prosperity the sanction of virtue, and justice too often personified by the executioner, as in Lillo's *The London Merchant or The History of George Barnwell*, 1731, a dramatization of a well-known popular ballad. In it George Barnwell is led by the beguilements of a harlot, Millwood, to steal money from his excellent master, Thorowgood, and finally to slay his own uncle in order to rob him of his wealth. He dies repentant at the hands of the executioner while Millwood dies defiant. As recently as sixty years ago apprentices in Manchester were allowed a free afternoon on Shrove Tuesday on condition that they attend the performance of *George Barnwell*. It is reported, however, that they usually preferred to remain at work.

In Germany *The London Merchant* first became generally known through the medium of Clément's translation; and the first German version, that of H. A. B[assewitz], despite the profession of its title page, was clearly done rather from the French. A critic remarked in 1757 that few readers were aware of this. In all the editions he noted four common errors which had insinuated themselves "in die französische, und aus diesem in die deutsche Übersetzung." The name of the author was given as Tillo, not Lillo. The description "bürgerliches Trauerspiel" was not in the original, but accorded with the French appellation "tragédie bourgeoise." The name of the noble-hearted master was not Sorogoud, as Clément gave it, but Thorowgood. Lillo's tragedy ended at the moment before the execution, but in the French and German editions the two final scenes were omitted entirely. In consternation at the call for "ladders and gallows at the end of the stage," and failing to reflect that these could be discarded at will, Clément withheld from his readers the touching passages which follow.[9] The reviewer therefore was moved to translate for the benefit of his readers the English text of these passages into what proved to be admirable German. He was manifestly unaware that in his second edition, "augmentée de deux scènes," Clément had included these final passages with a word of warning to the sensitive reader. The

[8] Waniek [238] 637.
[9] BSWFK, I (1757) 163 ff.

reviewer also overlooked a fourth discrepancy, derived no doubt from the same source. Act III, scene 4, corresponding to III, 2 of the original, begins with the indication: "Der Schauplatz ist in einem Zimmer in Sorogouds Hause." It should read: "in Milwouds Hause."

The earliest edition of the Bassewitz translation appeared in 1752, as has been pointed out elsewhere.[10] The German authorities have, with one voice, asserted that the Bassewitz translation was first published in 1757, and the latest reprint of the tragedy, edited by Kindermann, 1934, in the series, "Deutsche Literatur in Entwicklungsreihen," still designates the work as *Der Londoner Kaufmann* "nach der ersten Ausgabe, 1757." It may be added that the editor reprints without comment the error regarding the "Schauplatz" of III, 2.

A later translation of the tragedy, 1777–1778, was by Gellius; since Gellius translated several other works from the English and since furthermore this translation appeared in a collection containing other plays of Lillo not hitherto translated, we may safely conclude that it was done from the English, as it professed to be. We note also that the author's name was correctly given as Lillo, and Sorogoud as Thorowgood. Nevertheless, the best-informed critical journal of the time, overlooking the rectification, greeted the publication with the remark: "Der Werth von Tillos Arbeiten ist längst entschieden. Wir zeigen daher nur bloß diese Übersetzung an, die freylich nicht ganz genau und meistens sehr steif ist."[11] Evidently Tillo was a name to command respect in Germany as late as 1778.

The earliest recorded performance of the play in Germany took place in Hamburg. In his *Hamburgische Theater-Geschichte,* Schütze records:

> Am 5. Aug. [1754] begann Schoenemann aufs neue und nun fortwährend auf eigne Rechnung . . . bis zum 11. Novbr. Unter den in diesem Zeitraum gegebenen Stücken zeichnen wir . . . den *Kaufmann von London, Georg Barnwell,* a.d. Engl. des Lillo, aus, das erste gute brittische Produkt, das auf deutschen Boden übergepflanzt ward (gedr. Hamb. 1752). Das Stück fand in Hamburg großen Beifall. Es ward vom 25. Oktbr. bis 11. Novbr. 7 mal gegeben. Meisterhaft spielte Eckhof den Barnwell und Mad. Stark die Marie.

Schütze adds that the Koch troupe played the tragedy in 1775 "oft . . . in kaum drei Monaten" and that it was played from time to time by the Koch company during the years 1758–1763[12] after Koch took over the Schoenemann company. It was also in the repertoire of the Ackermann and the Schuh troupes.

The basis of the production was the Hamburg edition, which attributed

[10] Price [405].
[11] ADB, XXXV (1778) 504.
[12] Schütze, *Hamburgische Theater-Geschichte,* Hamburg, 1794, 283.

the tragedy to Tillo. Schütze himself is responsible for the correction to Lillo in his annals. The handbills of 1754 all announced the play as by Tillo. One critic has explained that on the title page of the first edition of the translation the "L" of Lillo chanced to be set upside down and was accepted by later printers as a "T."[13]

From the northern states *The London Merchant* soon found its way into Vienna. The *Répertoire des Théâtres de la ville de Vienne* (1757) indicates that sometime between Easter of 1754 and 1755 was played *Le Marchand de Londres*, "tragédie Anglaise par Lillo, imitée par Meiberg." The play, however was presented in German. Meiberg, or rather Johann Wilhelm Mayberg, had been from 1743 on a member of the Kurz troupe, and for it he adapted a number of plays, chiefly from the French. Unaware that the Bassewitz translation was already in existence and presumably well known to Mayberg, von Weilen studied his text closely for evidence as to whether it was based on Lillo's original or on Clément's translation.[14]

Mayberg's particular contribution to the production was the libretto for the arias of Columbina, Bernadon, and Hanns Wurst; for without the auspices of these local genii a comedy or even a tragedy would have found scant favor in Vienna. Mayberg's arias are still preserved in the theatrical archives in the National Library in Vienna. The play was later revised by other hands, for a second manuscript consists of dialogues and stage directions and bears the mark: "Angefangen in Baaden von J. Unger, geendet in Lintz den 15. Decembris 1759 von F. J. Moser." Stephanie der Jüngere prepared a version of the play, based on the Bassewitz translation, and presented it in Vienna, 1767.

In the course of time this English tragedy came into contact with French preferences and antipathies. Anseaume made of Lillo's plot an operetta called *L'École de la Jeunesse*, 1765, which was duly translated into German (*Die Schule der Jugend*, 1774) and played in Frankfurt. In 1769 Mercier adapted Lillo's play under the title *Jenneval ou le Barnevelt français*, permitting the title character to experience repentance and avoid retribution ere it was quite too late. Thus he made of his material a *comédie larmoyante*, which was played by the Seyler company in Weimar and Gotha seven times during 1772–1775 and then no more.[15] Schröder next took Mercier's play in hand, compared it with the original, and produced a "Rührstück" called *Die Gefahren der Verführung*, 1778,

[13] Hans Devrient, *J. F. Schoenemann und seine Schauspielergesellschaft*, ThF, XI (1895) 241, note 396. Devrient adds: "Eine Unkenntnis des damals berühmten Namens scheint mir ausgeschlossen." Herein, however, he was mistaken, as shown above.

[14] Von Weilen [402], Price [405] and [406].

[15] R. Schlosser in ThF, XIII (1895).

which was at least an improvement on Mercier's piece. The motivation was better and the tedious speeches were reduced in length.

Eloesser says: "*Der Kaufmann von London* . . . hielt sich auf den deutschen Bühnen mit großer Zähigkeit bis an das Ende des Jahrhunderts."[16] The available data support the assertion most inadequately. Nor can it be said that Schröder's *Die Gefahren der Verführung* crowded its predecessor off the stage. Performances of Lillo's tragedy had become rare before 1778 and Schröder's comedy enjoyed a moderate success only during the years 1781–1782.[17]

Almost simultaneously with *The London Merchant* a somewhat similar middle-class tragedy became known to the German public. This was Moore's *The Gamester*, 1753. Translated by Bode in 1754, it was played by the Ackermann troupe, then by Schönemann's troupe in Hamburg, 1754, with Ekhof as Beverley the gamester, and later on by the Koch troupe. In fact it appeared on nearly every important stage in Germany, though not in Berlin, it is true, until 1785. In this play Beverley, having gambled away his money and all the property of his wife, ends his career by suicide. A similar *dénouement* is also to be found in Young's *Revenge*, a weak imitation of *Othello*, and in Brawe's *Freygeist*, which presents many points of similarity to the foregoing two. In the *Freygeist*, 1758, Clerdon, a young Englishman, loves Amalia, the sister of his friend Granville. Henley, his rival, plans a slow revenge; he leads Clerdon into dissipation and crime, persuading him there is no God and no future life, while Granville tries to rescue him from his wild course of life. The situation is typical. In both these plays and in *Miss Sara Sampson* as well, we have a moral formula, in which the good and evil principles struggle for the mastery of the chief character.

Moore's tragedy suffered in France a dilution similar to Lillo's. *Beverlei, tragédie bourgeoise*, appeared in 1768. Influenced by the theories of Diderot, Saurin decided in the next year to invent for the play a happy ending. The alteration found some favor in Germany, and from now on the "Rührstück" competed with the tragedy. The imitations of the ensuing period are of the poorest sort, such as J. G. Dyck's comedy, *Das Spielerglück*, 1773, and *Die verdächtige Freundschaft* (anon.), 1784. Klinger wrote a five-act comedy, *Die falschen Spieler*, 1780, published two years later. David Beil wrote, 1785, a five-act piece *Die Spieler*, later called *Die Gauner*. Iffland raised the theme to a mediocre height with his *Der Spieler*, 1796. It sank to its former level in Kotzebue's *Blinde Liebe*, 1806.[18]

[16] Eloesser [163] 32.
[17] Price [404].
[18] Fritz [444].

Another treasure trove was offered by the moral novels of Richardson, but it is needful here to make a distinction. Lillo offered a warning example of public crime and public punishment. Richardson more subtly offered winning examples of domestic virtue for private emulation. Lillo's achievement, though crasser, was more essentially dramatic, and more susceptible of direct imitation than Richardson's. In fact Richardson's theme was essentially undramatic, yet more in harmony with the delicate morality that began to pervade Germany in the 1760's and 1770's. *Miss Sara Sampson*, 1755, is of the sentimental type. The scenes are private. The crime is forgiven and leads to no public punishment. The vogue of the Lillo type between 1755 and 1777 showed itself in such plays as Martini's *Rhynsolt und Sapphire*, Pfeil's *Lucie Woodvil*, Lieberkühn's *Lissaboner*, Brawe's *Freygeist*, Breithaupt's *Renegat*, Baumgarten's *Carl von Drontheim*, Diericke's *Edward Montrose*, von Gebler's *Adelheid von Siegmar*, Brandes's *Olivie* and Schink's *Giannetta Montaldi*, *Ludwig der Strenge*, and *Caroline von Rothenburg*.

In general novelistic themes made a greater demand upon the "Theaterdichter," for they required adaptation and the invention of dramatic scenes. They provided chiefly two dramatic situations—paternal compulsion and seduction. The former motif was used in Weisse's *Die Flucht*, in Sturz's *Julie* (founded on Frances Brooke's novel *Julia Mandeville*), in Heufeld's *Julie oder der Wettstreit der Liebe und Pflicht* (based on Rousseau's *La Nouvelle Héloise*), in Grossmann's *Henriette oder sie ist nicht verheiratet*, in Gotter's *Mariane* and his *Romeo und Julia*, and in Brandes's *Alderson I*.

The seduction theme was utilized in Mme. Hensel's *Die Familie auf dem Lande* (founded on Frances Sheridan's *Memoirs of Miss Sidney Bidulph*), in Pfeffel's *Eugenia*, in Brandes's *Alderson III*, and also in Rost's *Miss Obre oder die gerettete Unschuld* (based on Cumberland's *The Fashionable Lover*). The theme of seduction too is more dramatic than theatrical, being by convention an "off-stage" element. In *Miss Sara Sampson* and Beaumarchais's *Eugénie*, it is disposed of as "Vorgeschichte."[19]

The public drama was gradually giving way to the domestic dramas of Richardsonian atmosphere, when the "Sturm und Drang" movement intervened with a renewed demand for public themes. These reappeared, but with a decided modification: In *Emilia Galotti*, *Kabale und Liebe*, and certain less notable dramas, public misdeeds were allowed to go publicly unpunished in order that the feeling of oppression might not be relieved.

The foreign origin of many of the plays just mentioned is sufficiently

[19] Meinecke [508].

obvious from their setting. In several the scene of action is England, in others English characters play a role. Sauer has called attention to the limited range of English names. From Lessing's characters Marwood and Waitwell several combinations were made: Southwell and Woodvil in *Woodvil*, Welwood in *Der Renegat*, Well in *Miss Fanny*, Breitwell in *Breitwell*, Blackville in *Drontheim* and Greville in *Miss Fanny*. Sauer accounts similarly for Granville in *Der Freigeist*,[20] but here it is well to recall that Granville was already known to the Germans as the author of *Die weiblichen Liebhaber*, 1751, a translation of *The She-gallants*. The names Steele, Steeley, and Steley probably go back to Richard Steele, rather in his capacity as anecdote narrator, than as the author of some of the earliest sentimental comedies.[21]

The earliest edition of Gottsched's *Critische Dichtkunst* finds no room for the middle-class tragedy, the fourth edition, however, goes so far as to recognize it as a justifiable genre, but after the appearance of Lessing's *Miss Sara Sampson* and the translation of Lillo's *The London Merchant*, it returns to its original principles with their strict division lines and class discriminations.[22]

Lessing began to broaden his knowledge of the history of the development of the drama about 1750 with the publication of his *Beyträge zur Historie und Aufnahme des Theaters*, 1750, followed by his *Theatralische Bibliothek*, 1754. The mention of Cibber in the *Beyträge* among the authors to be considered is probably accidental and indicative of no new convictions.[23] By 1754, however, Lessing had freed himself from certain older taboos. In that year he translated for the *Theatralische Bibliothek* the essay of the Frenchman Chevrier in opposition to the *comédie larmoyante*, followed by Gellert's "Habilitationsschrift," *Pro Comoedia commovente*, concluding with his own opinion. "Das Possenspiel will nur zum Lachen bewegen; das weinerliche Lustspiel will nur rühren; die wahre Komödie will beydes."[24] In the same year Lessing published the third and fourth volumes of his *Schriften*, in the introduction to which he commented on the success of his *Der junge Gelehrte*, as presented formerly by the Neuber troupe, made some ironic comments on "ausländischer Witz," and the German habit of imitating the French, and warned: "Aber man gebe Acht, ob ich nicht gleich wieder alles verderben werde." No doubt he had in mind the writing of *Miss Sara Sampson*.

The influence of *The London Merchant* on German literature, particularly on Lessing, has been overstressed until very recently. Eloesser

[20] Sauer [217] 92 f.
[21] Price [573].
[22] Waniek [238] 412.
[23] Lessing, *Schriften*, IV 52 f.; cf. p. 226, below.
[24] *Ibid.*, IV 52.

summed up the prevailing opinion of his time when he wrote in 1898: "Lessings *Sara* ist aus einer Kombination von Richardsons Familienroman *Clarissa* und George Lillos bürgerlichem Trauerspiel *George Barnwell or the Merchant of London* entstanden."[25] Erich Schmidt at about the same time wrote: "Die Anregungen des . . . Lillo und . . . Richardson, sollten mit anderen nahen und fernen, literarischen und erlebten Motiven verknüpft dem Werke zu Gute kommen, das [Lessing] im Frühjahr . . . 1755 abschloß."[26] Some relationship of Richardson's best novel and Lessing's play is not to be gainsaid. The virtuous Clarissa and Miss Sara Sampson have been led astray by the libertines, Lovelace and Mellefont. But the parallel hardly goes beyond this first situation. The plots of *The London Merchant* and *Miss Sara Sampson* are widely divergent. The chief point of connection lies in the similarity of the villainesses. It might seem that Marwood and Millwood were sisters under the skin, but they are only cousins widely removed. The similarity of names proves no close kinship. Nearly all the names in *Miss Sara Sampson* are borrowed from various plays of Congreve or from *Clarissa*. Lady Solmes, Arabella, and Norton come from *Clarissa*, Mellefont comes from Congreve's *The Double Dealer*, Sir Sampson from *Love for Love*, Mrs. Marwood and her maid Betty from *The Way of the World*.[27]

The relationship between *Miss Sara Sampson* and Richardson's novel is undeniable but is of a rather general nature. Goethe said all that is needful on this subject:

> Schon die Richardson'schen Romane hatten die bürgerliche Welt auf eine zartere Sittlichkeit aufmerksam gemacht. Die strengen und unausbleiblichen Folgen eines weiblichen Fehltritts waren in der *Clarisse* auf eine grausame Weise zergliedert. Lessings *Miss Sara Sampson* behandelte dasselbe Thema.[28]

Paul Kies has demonstrated that the chief source of *Miss Sara Sampson* is Shadwell's *The Squire of Alsatia*.[29] His arguments are gradually overcoming a well-established literary tradition. It is necessary here only to quote Shadwell's description of Mrs. Termagant in his Dramatis Personae. "A neglected Mistress of Belford Junior, by whom she has a child; A furious, malicious and revengeful woman; perpetually plaguing him, and crossing him in all his designs, pursuing him with her malice even to attempting his life." Mrs. Termagant is even more drastic than Marwood. If Marwood threatens to kill Arabella, "mit begieriger Hand Glied von Glied, Ader von Ader, Nerve von Nerve lösen," Mrs. Termagant threatens to kill Belford's child and send it to him "baked in a pye."

[25] Eloesser [163] 18.
[26] Schmidt [255]^{2} 1 273.
[27] Oehlke, *Lessing* . . ., München, 1919, I 292.
[28] Goethe, *Werke*, I (28) 193.
[29] Kies [259].

Kies seemed reluctant to push his discovery to its final conclusion. In 1926 he listed *The London Merchant* as one of the domestic tragedies which Lessing certainly knew.[30] In a later essay he took it for granted that Lessing knew Lillo's tragedy, "so well known in England" at Lessing's time, but added: "One should bear in mind, however, that there is no actual proof of his knowledge of Lillo's drama before the production of *Miss Sara Sampson.*"[31] Unimpressed by the demonstration of Kies, A. Ludwig wrote as late as 1933: "Ohne Lillo und Richardson gäbe es wahrscheinlich keine *Miss Sara Sampson,*" and dismissed the question of other possible sources as "belanglos."[32] It may be noticed, however, that Oehlke, in an edition of *Miss Sara Sampson* refers to *The London Merchant* as a tragedy, "die Lessing vielleicht nicht gekannt hat."[33] As this edition appeared in 1925, he must have arrived at his conclusion independently of Kies. The burden of proof is now upon those who would insist on Lessing's knowledge of Lillo's work before 1755.[34] They must account for the absence of any reference by Lessing to the play before 1755 as well as for the outburst of enthusiasm in 1756.

The evidence of this enthusiasm consists of two observations. Lessing wrote to Mendelssohn on December 18, 1756:

> Gedenken Sie an den alten Vetter im *Kaufmann von London;* wenn ihn Barnwell ersticht, entsetzen sich die Zuschauer, ohne mitleidig zu sein, weil der gute Charakter des Alten nichts enthält, was den Grund zu diesem Unglück abgeben könnte. Sobald man ihn aber für seinen Mörder und Vetter noch zu Gott beten hört, verwandelt sich das Entsetzen in ein recht entzückendes Mitleiden.[35]

At about the same time Lessing wrote in an introduction to a translation of James Thomson's *Tragedies,* 1756:

> So wie ich unendlich lieber den allerungestaltesten Menschen, mit krummen Beinen, mit Buckeln hinten und vorne *erschaffen*, als die schönste Bildseule eines Praxiteles gemacht haben wollte: so wollte ich auch unendlich lieber der Urheber des *Kaufmanns von London,* als des *Sterbenden Cato* seyn, gesetzt auch daß dieser alle die mechanischen Richtigkeiten hat, derenwegen man ihn zum Muster für die Deutschen hat machen wollen. Denn warum? Bey einer einzigen Vorstellung des erstern sind, auch von den unempfindlichsten, mehr Thränen vergossen worden, als bey allen möglichen Vorstellungen des anderen, auch von den Empfindlichsten, nicht können vergossen werden. Und nur diese Thränen des Mitleids, und der sich fühlenden Menschlichkeit, sind die Absicht des Trauerspiels, oder es kann gar keine haben.[36]

[30] *Ibid.*, 185.
[31] Kies [263] 141.
[32] ASNS, CLXIV (1933) 94.
[33] Lessing, *Werke*, ed. Petersen und Olshausen, Berlin [1925], I 223.
[34] Vail [268] 133, points out that Nicolai miswrites Marwood for Millwood in a letter to Lessing, but the letter was not written until November, 1756. It indicates no knowledge on the part of Lessing, or even of Nicolai, of Lillo's tragedy before the spring of 1755. Cf. Lessing, *Schriften,* XIX 45.
[35] Lessing, *Schriften,* XVII 86.
[36] *Ibid.*, VII 68.

The question arises: Whence came Lessing's apparently recent knowledge of Lillo's tragedy? There are four possibilities: The English, French, and German versions of the play, and attendance at a performance. Of the first three the third is the most likely. There were by this time at least three German editions of "Tillo's" tragedy. If Lessing had mentioned Tillo by name, we could be certain of his source. If he had mentioned Lillo, we might suspect he had read the English original or the French translation, but nowhere in his works does he refer either to Lillo or to Tillo. Lessing, however, lays stress in both passages on the effect of the play upon the spectators. A diligent search has resulted in the discovery of no performance of the tragedy which Lessing could have attended before *Miss Sara Sampson* was finished at Potsdam. We do know, however, that the Koch company played in Leipzig after Lessing's arrival there, and that *Der Londoner Kaufmann* was one of the plays it carried in its repertoire. But it cannot be shown that it was actually played in Leipzig.

In view of this incomplete evidence, a curious parallel in English literature may be of interest and just possibly of significance. The *Cato* Lessing refers to is of course Gottsched's. The English reference below is to Addison's *Cato*. In Sarah Fielding's *Life of David Simple*, which was translated into German in 1746, there takes place a discussion among certain gentlewomen regarding *Cato* and *George Barnwell*. One of the ladies remarked that she actually knew people who sat through a performance of *Cato* with dry eyes and yet had shed tears at *George Barnwell*. The ladies exclaimed in chorus: "Oh, intolerable! Cry for an odious apprentice boy, who murdered his uncle at the instigation of a common woman and yet be unmoved when even Cato bled for his country." An old lady thereupon said:

> That is no wonder, I assure you, ladies, for I once heard my Lady Know-all positively affirm *George Barnwell* to be one of the best things ever wrote; for that Nature is Nature in whatever station it is placed, and that she could be as much affected with the distresses of a man in low life, as if he were a Lord or a Duke.

During the time that Lessing was in Berlin he reviewed many English novels, using the works of Richardson and Fielding as his standard of judgment. Among others he reviewed in 1753 Eliza Haywood's *History of Miss Betsy Thoughtless* (*Geschichte des Frl. Eliza Thoughtless* "von dem Verfasser der Begebenheiten des Thomas Jones"). Lessing accepted the attribution as correct and reviewed the novel accordingly.[37] It seems reasonable to suppose that he would read a novel by Sarah Fielding as

[37] *Ibid.*, V 432.

well; if so, the passage regarding *Cato* and *George Barnwell* might well have been stored up in his retentive memory for future use.

If *The London Merchant* was in no sense the progenitor of *Miss Sara Samspon*, it follows that its importance in the history of the development of the German middle-class drama has in the past been greatly overstated. Its connections with Goethe and Schiller remain to be mentioned.

When Goethe was eight years of age *The London Merchant* came to Frankfurt. The young boy was much impressed. Some time later he had an argument with his father, who maintained that the theater was a trivial institution. The son used Lillo's tragedy and *Miss Sara Sampson* as his strongest arguments in behalf of the moral influence of the stage.[38] A few years later as a nineteen-year-old student, he saw the play again at Leipzig. As befitted his new dignity he now wrote to his sister affecting a superior tone. "Dein Leibstück, den *Kaufmann von London*, habe ich spielen sehen. Beym größten Theil des Stückes gegähnt, aber am Ende doch geweint."[39] Soon after that Goethe himself wrote a middle-class drama, *Die Mitschuldigen*, based, as he asserted, on moral conditions in middle-class life which he had had opportunity to observe. What opportunities he may have had is not too clear and it has been suggested that perhaps the impulse may have come from literature rather than from life, but beyond the approximation of their genre there are few resemblances between his drama and Lillo's.

In 1805 Henry Crabb Robinson was in Germany interviewing, as was his wont, the German men of letters. Suspecting perhaps that Schiller's *Die Braut von Messina* bore some relation to Lillo's fate drama *Fatal Curiosity*, he mentioned that work, but Schiller seemed to know nothing of it. He said, however, that he knew Lillo's *London Merchant* and had once thought of writing a similar play. Robinson apparently neglected to ask when this idea occurred to him or what the nature of the play might have been.[40]

Lessing saw his *Miss Sara Sampson* in Frankfurt an der Oder, July 10, 1755. Ramler was able to report by letter to Gleim: "Die Zuschauer haben drey und eine halbe Stunde zugehört, stille geseßen wie Statüen und geweint."[41] A similar reception seems to have been accorded the new play in Gottsched's own Leipzig. The new drama took first place in public favor from the outset. Gottsched could only console himself with the reflexion that popularity signified no merit in a play. The success of *Miss Sara Sampson* coupled with that of *The London Merchant* invited a

[38] Goethe, *Werke*, I (26) 166.
[39] *Ibid.*, IV (1) 126.
[40] Robinson, *Diary*, I 213.
[41] BLVS, CCXLIV (1907) 206.

flood of imitations, but the influence of the English middle-class drama was restricted because the middle class in Germany was not yet socially self-conscious, as in England. When a George Barnwell robbed his master and slew his uncle, all apprentices felt humiliated. The gambling of Clerdon was not his own private affair, punishable only with ridicule, but a vice that injured the standing of the entire middle class. Because this broader social basis was lacking in Germany, the middle-class plays tended to become domestic comedies or tragedies. Thus Miss Sara Sampson would be content (I, 5) with a marriage that served only to appease her conscience, a marriage known only to herself, her God, and her father. Such a conception tends to make vice and virtue abstract and at the same time positive, not relative to society at large. Between good and bad there was no compromise.

Minna von Barnhelm signalizes a break with this sentimentalized, abstract world of virtue and vice. It returns us to a world that is more realistic in its externals and more plausible in its moral principles, a world in which circumstances alter cases. The idea of making a condition of life or an occupation a theme for a play derives, no doubt, chiefly from Diderot; and as usual Lessing had a storehouse of dramatic incidents to start with, incidents taken from Goldoni, Nivelle de la Chaussée, Diderot,[42] and many others, and his own personal observations. But he laid contribution on recent English dramatic literature as well, with which, as his comments and dramatic fragments show, he was by this time quite familiar, in its whole range from the moralizing Lillo and Moore to the cavalier Wycherley and Shadwell,[43] but of all the number, Farquhar, one of the least ribald of the Restoration dramatists, seemed most congenial to him. The numerous parallels of *Minna von Barnhelm* with *The Constant Couple* and *The Beaux' Stratagem* have been pointed out by such scholars as J. G. Robertson and Erich Schmidt.[44] Farquhar's feminine characters could have conversed with Minna and Franziska without embarrassment. *Minna von Barnhelm* too is a moralizing play, but not of the stuffy Richardson-Lillo type. It owes much, as we have seen, to the serene ethics of Shaftesbury,[45] and it shows that English models did not necessarily lead to undue moralizing and sentimentalizing.

Emilia Galotti, strangely enough, tends to revert to the seemingly outmoded type represented by *Miss Sara Sampson*, perhaps because its beginnings antedate *Minna von Barnhelm*. Between *Emilia Galotti* and

[42] J. Wihan, "Lessings *Minna von Barnhelm* und Goldonis Lustspiel *Un Curioso Accidente*." Programm, Prag, 1903. Cf. Kettner [257] 82.
[43] Kies [262].
[44] Schmidt [255]² I 465, Robertson [365].
[45] See p. 91, above.

Richardson's *Clarissa* there is again a close relation. We hear of Lessing being at work on the theme of the Roman Virginius in January, 1758.[46] At this time he had already broken with the Gottsched school and, three years before, had completed *Miss Sara Sampson*, but the story of Virginius needs only a little of the eighteenth-century atmosphere to become typically Richardsonian. Between the characters of Hettore Gonzaga and Lovelace there are general and specific resemblances, as well as between Emilia and Clarissa, both of whom must struggle against an unwilling admiration for the wanton lovers. Moreover pure accident plays a large if unequal part in the undoing of both, and the death of both, in different ways, represents their moral victory. There are still reminiscences of Richardson's style in *Emilia Galotti* despite the great progress that Lessing had made in dramatic technique since 1755.

During 1767–1777 almost fifty English comedies were translated into German. Many of these, to be sure, were Restoration rather than moral plays. One man alone, Christian Heinrich Schmid, translated nineteen comedies during these years,[47] but the public demanded also adaptation and among the adaptors Schröder was preëminent. He too included many of the ruder English plays. Goethe commended these as "ein heimliches Gegengewicht jener allzuzarten Sittlichkeit" (sc. of Richardson, Diderot, and Lillo).

The chief adaptor was Schröder. His task was a difficult one. He had to treat his material freely, for, as Goethe said:

> Die Originale sind meistens formlos, und wenn sie auch gut und planmäßig anfangen, so verlieren sie sich doch zuletzt in's Weite. Es scheint ihren Verfassern nur darum zu thun, die wunderlichsten Scenen anzubringen, und wer an ein gehaltenes Kunstwerk gewöhnt ist, sieht sich zuletzt ungern in's Gränzenlose getrieben. Ueberdieß geht ein wildes und unsittliches, gemeinwüstes Wesen bis zum Unerträglichen so entschieden durch, daß es schwer sein möchte, dem Plan und den Charaktern alle ihre Unarten zu benehmen. Sie sind eine derbe und dabei gefährliche Speise, die bloß einer großen und halbverdorbenen Volksmasse zu einer gewissen Zeit genießbar und verdaulich gewesen sein mag. Schröder hat an diesen Dingen mehr gethan, als man gewöhnlich weiß; er hat sie von Grund aus verändert, dem deutschen Sinne angeähnlicht, und sie möglichst gemildert. Es bleibt ihnen aber immer ein herber Kern, weil der Scherz gar auf Mißhandlung von Personen beruht, sie mögen es verdienen oder nicht.[48]

Unfortunately Schröder, despite his better taste, was compelled to submit Shakespeare's plays to a similar mitigating process. *Othello* was acceptable to the Hamburg public only on condition that Desdemona be allowed to live, and the weakened *Hamlet* of 1776 was regarded as a success.[49] Thus Shakespeare's plays were brought down to the level of

[46] Lessing, *Schriften*, III 359. Identified by Roethe [338] as a translation of a passage from Crisp's drama of 1754. Cf. Lessing, *Schriften*, XVII 132.

[47] Cf. Price [168].

the tearful comedy. *Richard II* and *Henry IV* met with the disfavor of the public in 1778. Schröder proceeded therefore with the utmost caution in his version of *Macbeth*, which was to follow. More properly one may speak of the Stephanie-Fischer-Schröder *Macbeth*, for Schröder built upon the Macbeth stage tradition in Vienna and Germany rather than on the English original, but even so "die Karaktere des Macbeth, und seiner Frau waren dem Hamburger Publikum zu abscheulich"[50] and the piece was received without enthusiasm. It remained for Bürger to make *Macbeth* popular for the first time, but his version too, despite its great merits, belongs to the then established tradition. Schiller tried "to change a heathen temple into a Christian church" and his *Macbeth*, which was produced in Weimar in May, 1800, is a landmark in the history of the moralizing drama, one might almost say even in the middle-class drama of Germany, for the kings are unfree individuals, whose morality is that of the middle class. The fate of Shakespeare at the hands of Schiller helps to make it clear why the moralizing dramas of England found so congenial a soil in Germany.

One might expect to discover that the dramas of the "Sturm und Drang" period proved to be the means of leading the public to demand a sounder theatrical fare. This came about in time, it is true, but much

[48] Goethe, *Werke*, I (28) 194 f.; Hauffen [286] classified some of Schröder's plays as follows:

I. Plays closely dependent on the original:	
Der Arglistige, 1771.	*Double Dealer*. Congreve.
Irrtum auf allen Ecken, 1784.	*She Stoops to Conquer*. Goldsmith.
Glück bessert Thorheit, 1782.	*Chapter of Accidents*. Miss Lee.
Inkle und Jariko, 1788.	*Incle and Yarico* (opera). Colman.
II. Plays abbreviated or concentrated:	
Wer ist sie? 1786.	*The Foundling*. Moore.
Die unglückliche Heirat, 1784.	*Isabella or The Fatal Marriage*. Southern.
Die unmögliche Sache, 1773.	*Sir Courtly Nice* or *It Cannot be*. Crown.
III. Scene transferred to Germany:	
Das Blatt hat sich gewendet, 1775.	*The Brothers*. Cumberland.
Die Wankelmütige oder *Der weibliche Betrüger*, 1782.	*She Would and she Would not*. Cibber.
Die Eifersüchtigen oder *Keiner hat Recht*, 1785.	*All in the Wrong*. Murphy.
Beverley oder *Der Spieler*, 1785.	*The Gamester*. Moore. (*Béverlei*. Saurin.)
Stille Wasser sind tief, 1784.	*Rule a Wife and Have a Wife*. Beaumont and Fletcher.
Victorine oder *Wohlthun trägt Zinsen*, 1784.	*Evelina*. A novel by Miss Burney.

Schröder's plays, *Der Ring*, 1783, *Das Porträt der Mutter*, 1786, and *Die unglückliche Ehe durch Delikatesse*, 1788, are, on the other hand, almost original, though their themes are taken respectively from Farquhar's *The Constant Couple*, Sheridan's *School for Scandal*, and Farquhar's *Sir Harry Wildair*. See also Pfenniger [287].

[49] Köster [902]. Litzmann [920] 198, Joachimi-Dege [763], Merschberger [916].

[50] *Berliner Litteratur- und Theater-Zeitung*, 1774, 523, 728. Cf. Köster [902] 67, 299.

later than has sometimes been imagined. The trial and conviction of Adelheid at the hands of a "Vehmgericht" in *Götz von Berlichingen* is un-Shakespearean, nor is it otherwise in Schiller's first drama.[51] Karl Moor acts as a free Shakespearean hero, only to bow to collective justice in the end. Karl Moor has even been compared with Beverley, Franz Moor with Stukely, and Amalia with Beverley's wife. *Die Räuber* has motifs in common with two other German middle-class dramas, Brawe's *Freygeist* and Christian Felix Weisse's *Amalia*, both of which, however, were in their turn dependent upon Moore's *Gamester*. Karl Moor has more in common with Fielding's Tom Jones than with Beverley, but Beverley too owes many of his traits to Tom Jones.[52]

As a matter of fact the classic dramas and the plays of Shakespeare in their modified form could make little headway against the established position of the "Rührcomödie," and even the most enlightened directors of the theater used their influence in favor of the good as against the better. Iffland reports that Ekhof advised against Shakespearean plays, saying:

> Das ist nicht, weil ich nichts dafür empfände, oder nicht Lust hätte, die kräftigen Menschen darzustellen, die darin aufgestellt sind; sondern weil diese Stücke unser Publikum an die starke Kost verwöhnen, und unsere Schauspieler gänzlich verderben würden. Das Entzücken, das Shakespear erregt, erleichtert dem Schauspieler alles. Er wird sich alles erlauben und ganz vernachlässigen.[53]

Iffland adds: "Leider hat er nicht sehr Unrecht gehabt."

The tone of the stage did not change perceptibly before the end of the century and the geniuses were viewed with misgivings by the professional men of the theater. When Schiller's *Kabale und Liebe* was about to be played at Mannheim Schröder wrote to Dalberg, May 22, 1784:

> Es ist schade um Schillers Talent, daß er eine Laufbahn ergreift, die der Ruin des deutschen Theaters ist. Die Folge is deutlich: wird der Geschmack an diesen Sturm- und Drangstücken allgemein, so kann kein Publikum ein Stück goutieren, das nicht wie ein Raritätenkasten alle fünf Minuten etwas anderes zeigt, in welcher nicht alle Leidenschaften aufs höchste gespannt sind. Wir werden in 70 Jahren keine Schauspieler mehr haben, denn diese Sachen Spielen sich selbst; und wer die zuerst spielt, ist ein Roscius und ein Garrick. Ich hasse das französische Trauerspiel—als Trauerspiel betrachtet—, aber ich hasse auch diese regellosen Schauspiele, die Kunst und Geschmack zu Grunde richten. Ich hasse Schillern, daß er wieder eine Bahn eröffnet, die der Wind schon verweht hatte.[54]

The *Theater Almanach für das Jahr 1777* attempts to give a complete list of all the theatrical representations of fourteen German companies

[51] Walz [407].
[52] Wihan [445].
[53] Iffland, *Meine theatralische Laufbahn*, 1798; in DLD, XXIV (1886) 36.
[54] J. Minor, *Schiller*, Berlin, 1889, II 191.

during the preceding year. About four hundred titles are given in all. Plays of Lessing were produced 50 times, of Goethe 46 times, and of Shakespeare 31 times—127 performances in all. During that same year Mercier's *Der Schubkarren des Essigmachers* (*La Brouette du vinaigrier*) was played 40 times and plays adapted from works of Marmontel 114 times. We have purportedly almost complete statistics for Munich from 1772 to the end of the century. These indicate a slight, but only a slight, turn toward the classical drama. Marmontel appeared on 80 evenings, i.e. about eight per cent of the whole, Lessing on 38, Goethe on 7, Shakespeare on 67, Schiller on none. When the French *comédie larmoyante* began to wane in popularity it was succeeded not by Shakespeare and the classic dramas but by new "Rührstücke."

To come to a later period, from 1789–1813, in Dresden, Iffland was represented by 143 pieces, Kotzebue by 334, Goethe, Lessing, and Schiller together by 58 out of 1471 evenings while Shakespeare scarcely appeared at all on the program.[55] In Mannheim during the same years the percentage was much the same.[56]

In short the French *comédie larmoyante* in part absorbed the English middle-class tragedy, then crowded it out of popularity and held its own against Shakespeare, Goethe, and Schiller, until it had called into life an abundance of German "Rührstücke" which in turn held first place in popularity well into the beginning of the next century.

[55] Martersteig, *Das deutsche Drama im 19. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig, 1904, 12 f.
[56] *Ibid.*, 120.

Chapter XIII

RICHARDSON AND THE MORALIZING NOVEL

Moral weeklies, moralizing dramas, and moralizing novels appeared in like sequence in England and in Germany, the precedence in time remaining always with England. All were products of the age of reason and democracy, of the age that believed that all men were teachable and would act nobly if taught to see the nobler way. Richardson was in many ways the successor of Addison rather than of Defoe and Swift. The moral weeklies had dealt with the ethical problems of the average man in brief narrative form. In the moralizing dramas the treatment was enlarged and intensified, and finally in the roomy volumes of his novels Richardson could analyze human motives with a fineness of detail hitherto impossible. In England Richardson's first novel promptly called forth the opposition of Fielding and his school. In Germany a like opposition was slower in getting under way and Richardson's novels had more time in which to establish themselves.

Richardson's *Pamela* of 1740 was doubly translated soon after its appearance.[1] Hagedorn wrote of it to Bodmer in 1745 saying: "Ich könnte Ew. Hochedelgeboren jemand nennen, der nicht ein weibisches Herz hat, der aber dieses Buch nicht ohne viel Thränen [hat] lesen können. . . . Ich würde mich beklagen, wenn es mir nicht gefiel."[2] Bodmer included *Pamela* in his list of recommended reading in the *Discourse der Mahlern* in 1746,[3] and Brockes, in the little-read ninth volume of his *Irdisches Vergnügen in Gott*, praises *Pamela* extravagantly and assigns to the virtuous serving-maid an almost Messianic role:

> Das, was man von der wahren Tugend, in hundert tausend Büchern lehret,
> Wird durch der Pamela Betragen, auf eine solche Weis' erkläret,
> Daß der nicht nur kein tugendhaftes, kein menschliches Herz im Busen hegt,
> Den diese tugendhafte Schöne zur Tugendliebe nicht bewegt.
> Die Tugend war den Sterblichen, doch nur dem Namen nach bekannt,

[1] First by Mattheson, Hamburg, 1742, second by Jacob Schuster, Leipzig, 1743, of which there was a "neue verbesserte Auflage," Leipzig and Liegnitz, 1772. The "Verbesserer" was apparently F. Schmid. It is furthermore said that Kästner participated in the translation of one part of *Pamela* and the first part of *Grandison*; see *Abraham Gottfried Kästners Selbstbiographie*, ed. Eckert, Hannover, 1909, 21. Cf. Wicke [237] 79.

[2] "Ungedruckte Briefe von Friedrich von Hagedorn an J. J. Bodmer," Zürich, Universitäts-Bibliothek. Letter of May 11, 1745. Cf. Hagedorn to Bodmer, September 28, 1749 *re Clarissa:* "Es enthält alles, was die Tugend verehren und das Laster verabscheuen und beklagen lehrt." Hagedorn, *Werke*, V 111.

[3] *Loc. cit.*, xxx; but this hardly justifies the assertion of Joseph Texte, *Jean Jacques Rousseau et le cosmopolitanisme littéraire*, Paris, 1909, 178: "Les *Discours des peintres* s'enflammaient pour ce pieux roman."

Bis sie, uns Menschen zu beglücken, beschloß, zu uns herab zu steigen,
Und uns mit allem ihren Reiz, sich in der Pamela zu zeigen.
* * * * * * * * * * *
Kurz: will ein jeder auf der Erden
Vergnügt, geehrt, geliebet werden,
Die Lehr ist, nebst dem Beyspiel da,
Man les' und folge *Pamela*.[4]

Brockes died too soon to be further uplifted by the reading of *Clarissa*, which however found a more competent exponent in Haller. *Clarissa* began to appear in England in 1747 and Michaelis of Göttingen commenced his translation in the following year, but became discouraged and allowed another to finish it. Two eighteenth-century reviewers attributed the continuation to Haller himself,[5] as did also the editor of Richardson's correspondence in the index to the volumes, basing her conclusion on the fact that Haller sent Richardson a complete set of the translation.[6] Certain it is that Haller along with his university work and his twelve hundred reviews in the *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* found time to translate at least one other English novel, hoping that it might have "eben das Glück und die Reizungen . . . welche ihre Schwestern, Pamela, Clarissa und Amalia für die deutschen Leser gehabt haben."[7]

Part of Haller's criticism of Richardson was of an esthetic nature. The letter form of the novel, Haller says, introduces a certain unplausibility, for it is unlikely that a young girl in a period of such great distress could find the composure to write such revealing letters as are here quoted,[8] but the novel itself he commends as "ein Meisterstück in der Abschilderung der Sitten, der Art zu denken und sich natürlich und dennoch wizig auszudrüken," and as "ein Muster der neuesten, reinsten, und zugleich der wizigsten und blumenreichsten englischen Schreibart."[9] He prefers Clarissa as a character to Pamela.

Sie ist noch viel wiziger, sie verfällt nicht in ernsthafte und trockne Regeln, sie hat insbesondere sich keine solchen Fehler wieder die Schaamhaftigkeit vorzuwerfen, als wohl die Pamela bey ihrer sonst guten Absicht sich zur Last hat legen lassen müssen.[10]

[4] *Op. cit.*, IX 554 f.; quoted more fully in Price [510] 13 ff.

[5] *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, III (1790), 163–767 and NADB, XIV (1795) 161, quoted in Price [510] 21. The review is signed D. *Re* the later translations of Kosegarten and Schmid, see pp. 179, below.

[6] *The Correspondence of Samuel Richardson*, ed. A. L. Barbauld, London, 1804, V 297.

[7] *Felicia oder Natur und Sitten in der Geschichte eines adeligen Frauenzimmers auf dem Lande*, a. d. E. von Haller, Hamburg and Leipzig, 1753. The author's name, apparently unknown to the translator, was Mary Collyer. The English title was *Felicia to Charlotte, Being Letters from a Young Lady in the Country to her Friend in Town*, London, 1749. Mary Collyer was also the translator of Gessner's *Der Tod Abels* and the first part of Klopstock's *Messias*.

[8] GGA, 1748, 274; 1755, 161.

[9] *Ibid.*, 1749, 201 f. Cf. Haller, *Tagebuch*, I 60 f.

[10] *Ibid.*, 1748, 274.

The novel too is superior. The absence of all unplausible adventure is especially commended.[9] "Die Charaktere sind zahlreicher, lebhaft abgemahlt, vollkommen wohl erhalten, und durch der Personen eigene Reden wizig und dennoch natürlich ausgedrükt"[8] or "durch ihre Ausdrüke, Vorhaben und Thaten abgemahlt."[11] Their characteristics are consistently maintained throughout the work, and even their styles of writing are so precisely differentiated, "daß wir es eben nicht für schwer halten bey einer jeden Seite zu sagen, welche Person den Brief geschrieben habe,"[9] but with this Haller mingles the moralizing criticism of the time and distinguishes between harmful novels and the rare good ones, namely, "die da . . . durch ihren angenehmen Vortrag ergötzen, auch zugleich auf eine nützliche Art belehren." Under this head he classes "Der *Telemach*, *Die Reisen des Cyrus*, *Die Prinzessin von Cleve* und die *Zaide* der Frau von Faiette, Die *Marianne*, Die *Pamela*, Die *Clarissa*, die Romanen des Herrn Prevôt, *Die Geschichte der schwedischen Gräfin* und in der That kaum noch fünf andere."[12]

Haller's chief disquisition on *Clarissa* first saw the light in the *Bibliothèque raisonnée* of Amsterdam in 1749.[13] It was translated into English shortly after in the *Gentleman's Magazine*,[14] and finally into German in Haller's *Kleine Schriften*.[15] In this essay Haller rises to a defense of the middle-class novel in principle. "All the readers we know," Haller says, "concur in giving it [*Clarissa*] the first rank among romances." The French, he says, may indeed take exception to this judgment, but French novels for the most part are presentations of the illustrious actions of illustrious persons. All the incidents of private life are suppressed. The hero is exhibited, a being who has neither wants, nor manners, nor virtues, nor vices in common with the rest of mankind. His characteristics are courage, generosity, constancy, devotion. Who can but smile to see Cyrus fill Asia with his conquests only in search of his mistress. Marivaux, to be sure, has endeavored to bring his countrymen back to nature. His *Marianne* and his *Paysan parvenu* are paintings after life. In these the author speaks less and his characters more, but his genius could not wholly cure himself of the fashion, nor did he dare to entertain his countrymen with private and domestic occurrence. In *Clarissa* we see a virtuous character in the same station of life with ourselves who suffers with an immovable and unshaken constancy. "The misfortunes of an Ariane move me not at all," he says, "those of a Princess of Cleves but

[11] *Ibid.*, 1748, 659.
[12] Introduction to *Felicia oder Natur und Sitten* . . .
[13] *Loc. cit.*, XLII (1749) 325 ff.
[14] *Loc. cit.*, XIX (1749) 245 f., 345 f.
[15] *Sammlung kleiner Hallerscher Schriften*[2], ed. Zimmermann, Bern, 1772, I 292 ff.

faintly. The heroes there are beings too different from myself and the misfortunes which happen to them bear no proportion to anything that may happen to me. I cannot but know it to be a fable and the necessary effect of this knowledge is insensibility."[14]

Haller's name is not attached to this translation in the *Gentleman's Magazine.* He is variously referred to as the French author and the ingenious foreigner. Haller takes exception to some minor details. The *Gentleman's Magazine* devotes several pages to the task of overruling the objections. According to Hirzel, the ardent defender of Richardson is Richardson himself.[16]

Haller suggested in 1750: "Das der Clarissa begegnete und für ein so himmlisches Frauenzimmer fast alzu demütigende Unglück ist vielleicht die Ursache, worum in Frankreich ein sonst so ausnehmendes Buch noch keinen Eingang gefunden hat"[17] and he is no doubt right, for when the Abbé Prévost translated it the next year he sacrificed just such passages. There were, to be sure, some critics in Germany who favored such mitigation. Uz wrote to Gleim that he found the conclusion of the novel unjustifiably sad.[18] Richardson expressed his vexation over the Abbé Prévost's suppressions in a letter to Clairaut.[19] Diderot objected to the procedure in an *Éloge* written at the time of Richardson's death for the *Journal étranger.*[20] Its editor, Suard, added a translation of the suppressed account of Clarissa's death. Haller approved the ruthlessness of the narration both on moral and esthetic grounds: it served to impress the lesson the more effectively[21] and "Es ist . . . wie eine Dissonanz in einer künstlichen Music, die das nachfolgende vortrefliche erhöhet," and he called Prévost's reserve "falsche Klugheit."[22]

When Haller learned that Richardson was about to write another novel he wrote to him asking that he might have the proof sheets as they came out, in order to translate the novel into German.[23] This perhaps strengthens the supposition that he had a hand in the translation of *Clarissa.* Richardson wrote to Clairaut, however, that he did not intend to enter into any business relations with any foreigners regarding translations.[24] When *Grandison* appeared Haller was ready to promise to it as sure an immortality as to the noblest of poetry. "Marivaux," he said,

[16] Haller, *Gedichte,* cccxiii.
[17] GGA, 1750, 610.
[18] BLVS, CCXVIII (1899) 233.
[19] Alan D. McKillop, "A letter of Richardson to Clairaut," MLN LXIII (1948) 111.
[20] Translation in the *Hamburgische Unterhaltungen* I (1766) 118.
[21] GGA, 1749, 201 f.
[22] GGA, 1750, 610.
[23] McKillop (see fn. 19, above) 112.
[24] *Ibid.,* 119.

"ist nur ein Nachspiel dagegen."[25] The first German translation of *Grandison* appeared in 1754–1755, immediately after its publication in England.[26]

Another constant advocate of the novels of Richardson was Christian Fürchtegott Gellert in Leipzig. One critic ventured to say: "Richardson was the founder of the German novel and Gellert was his sole prophet."[27] Gellert himself yielded precedence to Haller and referred his students to Haller's criticism and praise of Clarissa, which he said, "in ganz Deutschland unter den großen Gelehrten nur ein Haller hat verfertigen können."[28]

Gellert was however, no doubt the most influential of the early advocates of Richardson in Germany. In his *Moralische Vorlesungen* he frequently seized the opportunity to recommend the reading of Richardson's novels: "Ich habe ehedem über den siebenten Theil der *Clarissa* und den fünften des *Grandisons* mit einer Art von süßer Wehmuth einige der merkwürdigsten Stunden für mein Herz verweinet; dafür danke ich dir noch itzt Richardson."[29] According to the best evidence Gellert was the translator of *Grandison*,[30] and Gellert celebrated Richardson in extravagant terms in his "Sinngedicht über Richardsons Bildnis."

Dies ist der schöpferische Geist,
Der uns durch lehrende Gedichte
Den Reiz der Tugend fühlen heißt,
Der durch den Grandison selbst einem Bösewichte
Den ersten Wunsch, auch fromm zu sein, entreißt.
Die Werke, die er schuf, wird keine Zeit verwüsten,
Sie sind Natur, Geschmack, Religion.
Unsterblich ist Homer, unsterblicher bei Christen
Der Britte Richardson.[31]

The comparison was much in vogue at the time. In his "Éloge," written on the occasion of Richardson's death, Diderot had said:

O Richardson, Richardson, homme unique à mes yeux, tu seras ma lecture dans tous les temps! Forcé par des besoins pressants, si mon ami tombe dans l'indigence, si la médiocrité de ma fortune ne suffit pas pour donner à mes enfants les soins nécessaires à leur éducation, je vendrai mes livres; mais tu me resteras sur le même rayon avec Moïse, Homère, Euripide et Sophocle; et je vous lirai tour à tour.[32]

[25] GGA, 1755, 161.
[26] Later translations: 1780, presumably by Schwabe, and 1789, translator unknown.
[27] Robertson [507] 185.
[28] Gellert, *Sämtliche Schriften* . . ., Leipzig, 1784, VI 258.
[29] *Ibid.*, VI 258.
[30] See letter of the librarian Reich to Richardson, May 10, 1754, in *The Correspondence of Samuel Richardson* (cf. fn. 6, above), V 297; and Gellert in his "Husarenbrief," Gellert, *Werke*, ed. Klee, VIII 262: "[Graf Dohnau], der alle meine Schriften, selbst den *Grandison* auswendig wuste." The edition in question appeared in Leipzig 1754–1755. Later printings: 1764, 1770, 1780.
[31] *Almanach der deutschen Musen*, 1771, 57.
[32] Diderot, *Oeuvres complètes*, Paris, 1875–1877, V 216.

Ramler's *Critische Nachrichten*, in a series of letters plagiarized from the *Zürcher freymüthigen Nachrichten*, also came to the conclusion: "So schätze ich den Dichter der *Pamela* und *Clarissa* so hoch als den Dichter der *Ilias* und der *Odyssee*."[33]

Lessing's comments on Richardson are disappointing because of their lack of esthetic discrimination. In a review of *Felicia* in 1763 he says the novel belongs in the same group as *Pamela*, *Clarissa*, and *Amalia*. In it examples of human conduct are chosen, "welche die Tugend und Sitten angenehm machen, und die Laster lächerlich und hassenswürdig darstellen."[34] In a review of *Don Quixote im Reifrocke* written in the same year, Lessing notes with pleasure that Cervantes has made the old historical novels ridiculous and that Marivaux and his more successful followers, Richardson and Fielding, have introduced real human beings. Lessing adds: "Es ist zu wünschen, daß sie die einzigen wären, welche gelesen würden, wenn man einmal Romane lesen will."[35] In a review of *Grandison*, written the next year, he says "bloße Ergötzung" has never been Richardson's object. "Ein viel edlerer Zweck ist von je her der Gegenstand des unterrichtenden Richardson gewesen." Richardson has always understood the art of adorning "die schärffste Moral mit so viel reitzenden Bluhmen."[36] His comments on the successive issues of the *Grandison* volumes stress only the moral lessons and all is summed up in the challenge of 1757:

Wer wird sich auch einkommen lassen, etwas für mittelmäßig zu halten, wobey der unsterbliche Verfasser der *Pamela*, der *Clarissa*, des *Grandisons* die Hand angelegt? Denn wer kann es besser wissen, was zur Bildung der Herzen, zur Einflößung der Menschenliebe, zur Beförderung jeder Tugend das zuträglichste ist, als er? Oder wer kann es besser wissen, als er, wie viel die Wahrheit über menschliche Gemüther vermag, wenn sie sich, die bezaubernden Reize einer gefälligen Erdichtung zu borgen herabläßt.[37]

The critic Lessing appears in a somewhat different light in an anecdote of 1776. According to it Lessing defended a love-stricken girl of thirteen when her tutor Mendelssohn, with the approval of her father, threw out of the window a copy of *Werther* with which she was consoling herself. The afflicted maiden, Sara von Grotthus, twenty years later, quoted Lessing from memory as saying:

Du wirst einst erst fühlen . . . was für ein Genie Göthe ist . . . Ich habe immer gesagt, ich gäbe 10 Jahre von meinem Leben, wenn ich Sternens Lebenslauf um ein Jahr

[33] Price [509] 173.
[34] Lessing, *Schriften*, V 166.
[35] *Ibid.*, V 201. *Re* a German translation of *The Female Quixote* by Charlotte Lang. The translator was H. A. Pistorius.
[36] *Ibid.*, V 399.
[37] *Ibid.*, VII 75. Cf. V 433 and VII 18 f.

hätte verlängern können, aber Göthe tröstet mich einigermaßen über seinen Verlust. Ich kann das Gewäsche von Verderben, Schwärmerei usw., gar nicht hören, elendes Räsonnement, malt für Eure Kleisterpuppen lauter Grandisone, damit sie nicht am Feuer der Empfindung springen! Soll man denn gar nicht für Menschen schreiben, weil Narren närrisch sind.[38]

More fully even than its two predecessors, Richardson's *Grandison* satisfied the rationalists' ideal of the perfect novel. Gottsched, for example, wrote in a letter to his niece Victoria:

Ich bin ihn ganz durch und die beiden letzten Bände gefallen mir ungemein. Unstreitig ist dies der beste Roman, der jemals geschrieben worden, und nach ihm will ich keinen mehr lesen. Er erhebt die menschliche Natur zu ihrer wahren Würde, und das beyder Geschlechter. Henriette nämlich ist in dem ihrigen so vollkommen als Grandison in dem seinigen. Lesen Sie ihn also in dem guten Vorsatz, alles liebenswürdige dieses trefflichen Frauenzimmers nach Ihren Umständen nachzuahmen. Allein was für ein seltsames Geschöpf ist Charlotte Grandison oder Lady G.! Ich habe mich oft über sie geärgert und hätte sie prügeln mögen. . . . Sie haben etwas aus meiner Philosophie behalten, und das ist mir lieb. Fahren Sie fort den zweiten Band zu lesen, so werden Sie urtheilen können, ob ich nicht recht Grandisonische Grundlehren längst gehabt und nach Möglichkeit ausgeübt habe.[39]

As might be expected the criticism of Richardson's novels in the moral weeklies was also of a rationalistic nature. The earliest discussions were almost without exception favorable. Gottsched, Bodmer, and the "Bremer Beyträger" in their organs all urged the reading of Richardson and the same is true of two of the Nuremberg editors.[40] *Der Sammler* of Strassburg and *Die Zürcher freymüthigen Nachrichten* discussed earnestly and at length problems arising out of *Pamela* and *Clarissa* respectively,[41] and *Der nordische Aufseher* of Copenhagen formally debated the question: "ob in Grandisons Geschichte Clementine oder Henriette Byron den Vorzug verdiene," awarding the decision to Henrietta Byron because her emotions always remain under perfect control.[42]

To be sure there were some critics for whom Richardson was not rational enough. Joseph von Sonnenfels was in some respects the Gottsched and the Lessing of Vienna. In his second journal, *Theresie und Eleanore*, 1767, the novels of Richardson came under consideration. A certain widow is represented as writing to the journal to inquire which of the works of Richardson she shall first put into the hands of her daughter Constantine. The answer of the journal is bluntly, none of

[38] Biedermann, "Zu Lessings Gesprächen," in *Lessing-Buch*, ed. Jellinek and Marbach, Berlin, 1926, 16–20.
[39] Waniek [238] 675.
[40] Von Murr, *Der Zufriedene*, 1764, and Friedrich Schmit, *Das Wochenblatt ohne Titel*, 1770. Cf. Price [509] 180 f.
[41] Price [509] 173 f.
[42] *Loc. cit.*, III 369.

them. *Pamela* is out of the question: "Die Dirne verliebt sich in ihren Herrn, der so weit über sie ist. Das ist schon nicht erbaulich. Dann, so werden dem Mädchen gewisse Anträge gemacht . . ." *Clarissa* is a little better. She enters into a secret correspondence with a man. Because her relatives treat her badly she runs away from home. The rascally Lovelace is described as charming and handsome in appearance while the virtuous Hickman is a pitiable figure in comparison with him. The final scene is unsuitable for young girls. *Grandison* is better in this regard: "Da die Männer nun einmal bestimmt sind, das Haupt der Familie und unsere gebietenden Herren zu werden, so ist es nothwendig . . . daß man sie hochachten lerne," but Henriette Byron is with all her virtues a vain, sometimes impertinent, and always disdainful person. Instead of these modern works Constantine should read the older novels, which teach young girls to expect the severest standards of honor from their lovers.[43]

A second group of rationalistic critics condemned Richardson's novels, not on moral but rather on esthetic grounds. Here belong among others Blankenberg, Wieland in his second literary phase, Musäus, and Abbt. These objectors took exception to Richardson's "perfect characters." They were theoretical and, some of them, practical followers of Fielding and as such may be reserved for the next discussion, but here it may be said that the line must not be drawn too sharply. Richardson's characters were not always unmixed, and Mendelssohn at least implied this in one of the *Litteraturbriefe.*

> Die vollkommen tugendhaften Charactere aber machen dem Dichter die wenigsten Schwierigkeiten. Ich weiß, daß Richardson mit seinem vollkommenen Grandison leichter fertig geworden als mit seiner Clementina; und vielleicht auch mit der Clarissa leichter als mit dem Lovelace.[44]

Furthermore a reviewer of Blankenberg's *Versuch über den Roman* challenged the author's attack on Richardson's manner of drawing characters saying: "Unserem Bedünken nach hat Richardson in der *Clarisse* den Forderungen des Verfassers recht sehr Gnüge getan, denn er zeigt auf eine anschauende Art wie Clarisse das worden ist, was sie ist."[45]

We now approach a group of critics who can best be described negatively as of the nonrationalistic school. Here come chiefly under consideration Klopstock, Herder, and Gellert. Goethe requires a separate consideration. It was the emotional rather than the moral Richardson which appealed to Klopstock and his wife. Meta wrote to Richardson admiring letters,[46] and Klopstock once tried to secure a position in the English

[43] Sonnenfels, *Gesammelte Schriften,* Wien, 1783, IV 138 ff.
[44] *Loc. cit.,* Stück 66.
[45] Tlr. in ADB, XLIII 2 (1775) 348.
[46] *The Correspondence of Samuel Richardson* (see fn. 6, above) III 139–157.

service in order to be near Richardson. His ode "Die todte Clarissa" was well known to the "Empfindsamen."[47] Gerstenberg's colder ode on the same subject seems to have made but little impression in his time[48] and his lurid cantata on Clarissa was first published in 1916.[49]

Diderot's *Éloge*, as translated in the *Hamburgische Unterhaltungen*, caught Herder's attention. In 1767 he quoted at length from it and expressed a desire to see the French original.[50] The following year he took Abbt to task for commending Musäus's *Grandison der Zweite*. He would prefer to be the author of *Grandison* rather than its parodist, and to write "ein Diderotsches Ehrendenkmal," rather than "eine eckligte Critik."[51] In his *Journal meiner Reise im Jahre 1769* he aspired to become a "Menschenkenner" and to study "die Menschheitsschriften," among which he included the works of Richardson.[52] In a review of Lessing's *Wie die Alten den Tod gebildet* he makes a touching reference to the dead Clarissa, too good for this earth.[53] But during his stay in Darmstadt in 1770 he must not have mentioned Richardson to Caroline, for in a letter from Strassburg, September 20, 1770, he wrote to her:

> Die unschuldige Welt Ihres Geßners ist schön; nur ist sie nicht die Unsrige—sie ist zu wenig im Kreise der Leidenschaften, die doch die Triebfedern der Menschheit sind . . . Apropos! haben Sie nichts von Richardsons Romanen gelesen? *Pamela, Grandison, Clarißa?*

He limits his praise to Clarissa: "Grandison ist ein steifer, kalter, unmenschlicher Charakter, und Pamela oft eine langweilige Puppe von Unschuld,"[55] but the death of Clarissa is the greatest loss of sorrowing nature: "Ein menschlicher Engel, durch den kleinsten Schatten von Fehler, eine Unglückliche."[54]

In April of the following year Herder revisited Caroline at Darmstadt, but still she had not read *Clarissa*. In November of 1771 she read Klopstock's ode, "Die todte Clarissa," and it was this apparently that finally led her to take up Richardson's *Clarissa:* "Ich bin über mich unwillig, daß ich nicht eher ein so edles, unschuldiges erhabenes Herz kennen lernte." She compares Clarissa with Sophie La Roche's "Sternheim," not at all to the disadvantage of the latter: "Sind nicht Sternheim und Clarißa zwey Engelsschwestern?"[55] But at just about the same time

[47] Klopstock, *Oden*, ed. Muncker and Pawel, Stuttgart, 1889, I 89 ff.
[48] Gerstenberg, *Vermischte Schriften*, Altona, 1815, II 255.
[49] ASNS, CXXXIV (1916) 3 f.
[50] Herder, *Werke*, IV 226.
[51] *Ibid.*, II 326.
[52] *Ibid.*, IV 367.
[53] *Ibid.*, V 657.
[54] *Herders Briefwechsel*, XXXIX (1926) 52.
[55] *Ibid.*, 382.

Herder was reading *Clarissa* in its entirety for the first time and to his disillusionment. What he had previously written was based on uncertain memories of an earlier reading of the last part only. Much after the fashion of the moral weeklies he now takes the heroine to task for her clandestine correspondence with Lovelace, whose evil reputation she knew, and for running into his arms and deceiving her father and mother, her friend Miss Howe, and herself.[56]

Not all of Herder's criticism is moralizing however: "Jetzt weiß ich nicht, wie man das Buch als ein feines Gewebe etc. anpreisen kann: für mich ist alles so grob, und plump und zusammengezwungen."[57] Again he says:

> Mich dünkt, der Autor hat von der Canzleisprache der Liebe und aller Affekten und Blendwerke und Charaktere des Menschlichen Herzens viel—von ihrem Cabinet aber nichts gewust. Das Eine . . . ist sein Ausmalen der Situationen, und das kann er vortreflich, und eben daher erinnere ich mich, sind auch die Thränen, die es uns in den letzten Theilen auspreßt, so hart: es sind recht herausgewundne Thränen.[58]

In a letter of December 16, Caroline agrees with Herder:

> Ich bin herzlich froh, daß ich Ihr Urtheil über die ersten Theile der *Clarißa* habe. Lachen Sie nur über mich, ich hätte nicht das Herz, etwas gegen den großen Mann Richardson zu sagen, da mich doch so oft das kalte Mädchen mit ihrem boshaften Lovelac, dem sie auf die närrischte Art in die Arme lief, ärgerte. Sie ist ein heiliger, heiliger Engel, das ist wahr, und auf dieser Seite hat sie mich ganz an sich gezogen, aber das kalte wunderliche rückhaltende Herz war immer ein Stein des Anstoßes. Ich glaube gar, sie hälts für Sünde, einen Freund zu lieben![59]

This, and much more which might be quoted, is evidence that Richardson was by no means the idol of the Darmstadt saints and of kindred souls elsewhere. Most of Herder's comments on Richardson in later life are either neutral or critical of perfect characters in general. At one time he made the remark: "Richardsons drei Romane haben ihre goldene Zeit erlebet; Youngs *Nachtgedanken*, *Tom Jones*, *Der Landpriester* haben in Deutschland Sekten gestiftet."[60] In other words there was no Richardson sect in Germany. It is clear that *Agathon* and *Wilhelm Meister* owe more to Fielding than to Richardson, and it follows that the German "Bildungsroman" might well have developed to its full compass without the stimulation of Richardson.

Gellert wrote but one novel. To its composition he was no doubt inspired by *Pamela*. Richardson's later novels had not yet appeared. Gellert's *Leben der schwedischen Gräfin von G****, 1747, shares with *Pamela* its moral intent, and almost nothing more. It differs from *Pamela*

[56] *Ibid.*, 390.
[57] *Ibid.*, 392.
[58] *Ibid.*, 393.
[59] *Ibid.*, 400.
[60] Herder, *Werke*, XVIII 208.

in construction, in content, and in tone, and its disregard of accepted conventions would have shocked Richardson. After their marriage two lovers discover that they are brother and sister but yet continue to dwell together. The Gräfin von G. had not long been married when a royal rival summoned her husband to the wars and placed him maliciously in a dangerous position. The news of death was brought to his wife, who after a certain length of time married "Herr R.," the best friend of her former husband, and lived with him in Christian contentment, until, to the surprise of all, her supposedly dead husband returned uninjured. The Graf von G., her just and true husband, was restored to his rights without struggle or emotion on her part, but Herr R. was persuaded to remain in the city and visit often in the house as the good friend of both, and when the Graf von G. died he commended his wife to the care of their friend R.

The episode was condemned or ridiculed in the nineteenth century.[61] Perhaps the twentieth would regard it more tolerantly, but at all events it harmonized with the social thought of its own time. Shaftesbury had taught that the "real true gentleman" was ever content with his position in life and always bore with grace whatever fate brought to him. Richardson and after him Gellert subscribed to a certain middle-class transposition of this principle. This ideal of resignation, "Gelassenheit," is represented and with dignity by count and countess and by Herrn R. A like problem was less deftly solved in *Werther* and in *Stella.*

Richardson and Gellert found no worthy successor in Germany until 1766, when Hermes began his *Miss Fanny Wilkes,* closely followed by *Sophiens Reise,* 1769–1773. The chief characters in *Miss Fanny Wilkes* are Handsom and Miss Jenny. Handsom is a German Sir Charles Grandison and Miss Jenny a Richardsonian paragon, though more sentimental than her English models. The troubled courtship of Handsom and Miss Jenny nears a happy conclusion when the prospect is ruined by the discovery of blood relationship. In other words *Miss Fanny Wilkes* owes its plot as much to Gellert as to Richardson. It may be noted that in this novel as well as in its successor Hermes made use of chapter headings after the manner of Fielding.

In composing *Miss Fanny Wilkes,* Hermes was partly motivated by the desire to gain popularity, but in writing *Sophiens Reise von Memel nach Sachsen* he lays claim to the most admirable intentions. Professor Arnold of Königsberg had put *Grandison* into his hands and had advised him to cloak his moralizings in a pleasing gown and thus become a German Richardson. Voices from the public had strengthened his resolutions: "Manche Mütter," he says, "und zwar die verehrungswürdigsten,

[61] Schmidt [513] 32.

manche Prediger, haben mir zugerufen: 'Will denn kein Christ etwas schreiben, was so ausseh wie ein Roman und so meine Kinder fessele!' Das jammerte mich und ich schrieb."[62] Sometimes Hermes seems slavishly dependent on his masters. Approaching a climax he exclaims in effect: "What a situation! What would not Richardson and Gellert do with this!" and therewith he is content to leave the possibilities undeveloped, but again he takes a critical attitude, is scornful of "Bironsches Zimpern," indicates that on earth no Grandison exists, and as an orthodox Protestant theologian he is compelled to protest against Clementina von Porretta's infidelity to her faith and calls her "ein Unding, eine erkenntnislose, glaubenslose Römerin."[63] In the 4000 pages of *Sophiens Reise* Hermes had ample room to make use of motifs drawn from Richardson. Mr. Less is at hand to play the part of Grandison when called upon and the seduction scene resembles the Pamela–Mr. B. situation in its beginnings but the Lovelace–Clarissa situation in its further development. Hermes had at least a theoretic appreciation of the merit of "developing characters" and delighted Blankenburg with the promise of a *Geschichte des Herrn Groß*, which should show "einen werdenden Grandison," but this promise was never fulfilled.

The next important landmark in the history of Richardson in Germany is represented by Sophie La Roche's *Geschichte des Fräuleins von Sternheim*, 1771, so much admired by Herder, Caroline Flachsland, and Goethe. An enthusiastic review in the *Frankfurter gelehrte Anzeigen* declared: "Die Herren irren sich, wenn sie glauben, sie beurtheilen ein Buch—es ist eine menschliche Seele."[64] The weight of evidence seems to show that this review was written by Goethe. In this novel the author kept rather close to the one model, Clarissa, providing for her, however, a happy marriage with Lord Seymour after her deception by Lord Derby.

Even the satirical, anti-Richardsonian novels of the period bear witness to the popularity of the type, and often jestingly borrow motifs from Richardson. This is true of Nicolai's *Sebaldus Nothanker*, 1773, and of Musäus's *Grandison der Zweyte*, 1760–1762, later revised and published as *Der deutsche Grandison*, 1781–1782. The theme of the best-known and most widely read novels of the next decade was virtue—virtue in the Richardsonian sense, chastity bordering on prudery. Situations and ideas of Richardson are imitated or varied in these novels with a repetitiousness that left the readers still desiring more. There are scenes of virtue triumphant and virtue rewarded, of seduction and attempted seduction, of deaths after the manner of Clarissa, and of madness after the manner

[62] *Ibid.*, 39.
[63] Buchholz [518] 45.
[64] *Loc. cit.*, no. 13, 1772, in DNL VI (1882) 85.

of Clementina von Porretta. The stage is frequently set for simple rural Pamelas to touch the heart of sophisticated aristocrats in garden scenes, and a summer house is the frequent setting for an idyll, a declaration of love, or an attempted seduction. Grandisons too are not lacking and the topic of dueling is frequently brought up by some suitable altercation. The Richardsonian mode is recognizable in such characters as Gellert's Gräfin von G., Hermes's Miss Fanny Wilkes, Sophie, and Mr. Less, Goethe's Charlotte Buff, Wieland's Clementine von Porretta, Sophie La Roche's Fräulein von Sternheim, Müller's Therese (*Siegwart*) and Wagner's Evchen (*Die Kindermörderinn*). All this has been admirably summed up in the recent monograph of Liljegren, *The English Sources of the Gretchen Tragedy—A Study of the Life and Fate of Literary Motives* [493], the best treatment we have of the influence of Richardson in Germany.

Unfortunately the work of Liljegren came out just in time to have the suitability of its main title, though not of its subtitle, diminished. The chief "source" of the Gretchen tragedy can no longer be in doubt since the discovery in the "Hausarchiv" of the Goethe family of the documents relating to the trial of Susanna Margarethe Brandt and her execution in January, 1777,[65] but Susanna Brandt was too unintelligent, perhaps too unattractive and slatternly, to be presented as the tragic victim of Faust. She needed to be decked out with some of the naïveté of the Pamela mode. So "sitt- und tugendreich" she is, she is still attracted by the handsome stranger, who must certainly be of good family, "er wär auch sonst nicht so keck gewesen." For his part Faust is deeply affected by Gretchen's simplicity and domesticity.

> Ich fühl', O Mädchen, deinen Geist
> Der Füll' und Ordnung um mich säuseln. . . .
> Die Hütte wird durch dich ein Himmelreich, . . .
> Wie atmet rings Gefühl der Stille,
> Der Ordnung und Zufriedenheit!

This leads presently to a summer-house scene which had become almost conventional since the time of Richardson's *Pamela* but which, despite Richardson, leads to the triumph of libertinage over virtue.

It does not appear that Goethe in his Leipzig, Strassburg, or "Sturm und Drang" years was ever an enthusiast for an unmodified Richardson. The letters he wrote from Leipzig to his sister convey the impression that he had outgrown such a sentiment even though in old-fashioned Frankfurt the Grandison ideal still held sway. In a poem "Unschuld,"

[65] Beutler in *Essays um Goethe*[3], Wiesbaden, 1946, I. First published in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, May 4, 1939.

Goethe praised a virtue that was "mehr als Byron, als Pamele,"[66] and in a bantering tone he wrote to Cornelia December 6, 1765: "Du bist eine Närrin mit deinem Grandison . . . aber mercke dirs, du sollst keine Romanen mehr lesen, als die ich erlaube." Then he adds consolingly: "Laß dirs nicht Angst seyn. *Grandison, Clarissa* und *Pamela* sollen vielleicht ausgenommen werden."[67] A little later he urges her to read meditatively the *Zuschauer*. "Dieses ist besser und dir nützlicher, als wenn du 20 Romanen gelesen hättest. Diese verbiete ich dir hiermit völlig, den einzigen *Grandison* ausgenommen, den du noch etlichemahl lesen kannst, aber nicht obenhin sondern bedächtig."[68] This, too, is probably persiflage. On May 14, 1766, he wrote: "Mais je ne pense pas que je prêche envain. Tu ne veux que tes Romans. Eh bien, lis les. Je m'en lave les mains. Pour *Clarisse* je n'ai rien à contredire."[69] There is no reason to suppose the last remark was meant else than seriously. From dreary Frankfurt he wrote a versified letter to Friederike Oeser, November 6, 1768, telling her that only the Grandison ideal here prevailed.

Bin ich bei Mädchen launisch froh;
So sehen sie sittenrichtrisch sträflich,
Da heißt's: der Herr ist wohl aus Bergamo?
Sie sagen's nicht einmal so höflich.
Zeigt man Verstand, so ist auch das nicht recht.
Denn will sich einer nicht bequemen
Des Grandisons ergebener Knecht
Zu sein, und alles blindlings anzunehmen
Was der Dictator spricht,
Den lacht man aus, den hört man nicht.[70]

To Friederike's father he wrote a little later, November 24, 1768, that the girls of Frankfurt only cared for the astonishing and for the beautiful, naive, or humorous but little. "Deßwegen sind alle Meerwunder: Grandison, Eugenie, der Galeerensclave, und wie die ganze fantastische Familie heißt, hier im großen Ansehen."[71] In fact, Grandison soon becames for the convalescent in Frankfurt practically synonymous with "Schwärmerei." He wrote to Friederike Oeser on February 13, 1769 telling of a young girl whom he had met. "She pleased me so well," he said, "daß mir's war wie's einem jungen Mädchen wird, die den *Grandison* ließt; das ist ein feines Bißgen von einem Menschen, so einen möcht'st du auch haben, denckt sie."[72]

The idyllic days in Sesenheim and even their almost tragic conclusion were stylized after the manner of *The Vicar of Wakefield*. There has been a tendency to overemphasize the relation of Richardson to the Wetzlar

[66] Goethe, *Werke*, I (1) 52.
[67] *Ibid.*, IV (1) 20.
[68] *Ibid.*, IV (1) 27.
[69] *Ibid.*, IV (1) 54 f.
[70] *Ibid.*, I (5:1) 59.
[71] *Ibid.*, IV (1) 182.
[72] *Ibid.*, IV (1) 192.

episode and what came of it. The letter form of *Werther* is properly connected with Richardson and Rousseau but the setting, the mood, and the ideals, are those of Rousseau and not of Richardson.

In Wetzlar Goethe translated "The Deserted Village" in competition with Gotter; Charlotte Buff preferred such novels as *The Vicar of Wakefield*, the story of Miss Jenny, probably Mme. Riccoboni's novel, and an unnamed novel which could be identified as Sophie La Roche's *Fräulein von Sternheim*,[73] in short, domestic novels "in dem ich meine Welt wiederfinde, bei dem's so geht wie um mich." Kestner read Sterne to Lotte. Specific reference to Richardson is missing. Of the three characters involved in the situation, Charlotte only less than Werther would have been frowned upon by Richardson, and Kestner alone would have met his full approval. Kestner's ethical system was based on Gellert's *Moralische Vorlesungen* and his *Leben der schwedischen Gräfin von G****. His conduct in the whole affair was as poised as that of her husband.

It was the death of Cornelia in 1777 which brought Goethe to a realization of merits in Richardson he had not fully recognized before.

> Da ich dieses geliebte, unbegreifliche Wesen nur zu bald verlor, fühlte ich genugsamen Anlaß, mir ihren Werth zu vergegenwärtigen, und so entstand bei mir der Begriff eines dichterischen Ganzen, in welchem es möglich gewesen wäre, ihre Individualität darzustellen: allein es ließ sich dazu keine andere Form denken als die der Richardson'schen Romane. Nur durch das genaueste Detail, durch unendliche Einzelnheiten, die lebendig alle den Charakter des Ganzen tragen und, indem sie aus einer wundersamen Tiefe hervorspringen, eine Ahnung von dieser Tiefe geben; nur auf solche Weise hätte es einigermaßen gelingen können, eine Vorstellung dieser merkwürdigen Persönlichkeit mitzutheilen: denn die Quelle kann nur gedacht werden, in sofern sie fließt. Aber von diesem schönen und frommen Vorsatz zog mich, wie von so vielen anderen, der Tumult der Welt zurück.[74]

In *Wilhelm Meister* Goethe finds sanction in *Pamela*, *Clarissa*, and *Grandison*, as well as in *Tom Jones* for his assertion that the main characters of a novel should be passive rather than active, and should serve as a retarding factor in the development of the plot, and there are recognizable reminiscences of Richardson in the "Bekenntnisse einer schönen Seele" and in *Die Wahlverwandtschaften*.

Toward the end of the century literary happenings in France and England served to call the attention of German readers to Richardson. In 1786 appeared a tragedy, *Clarisse Harlowe*,[75] and a complete French translation of *Clarissa*, to take the place of the abridgement that Diderot had decried. Martin Sherlock's *Letters on Several Subjects*, 1781, was

[73] Price in GR, VI (1931) 1–7.
[74] Goethe, *Werke*, I (27) 23.
[75] C. Brenner, *Bibliographical List of Plays in the French Language, 1700–1789;* Berkeley, 1947; entry [9424].

translated into German the following year. In these letters Sherlock made several comments which were more plausible than sound. True, he argued, there are no such paragons as Clarissa and Grandison, but neither is there so perfect a woman as the Venus de Medici. Her beauty is made up of many perfections from many different women, yet we never grow tired of contemplating her; why then should we tire of Richardson's perfect characters? The greatest attempt of human genius, he said, was the making of the plan for *Clarissa.* The second greatest was its execution. In 1782 Archenholz, on his return from his travels, wrote his *England und Italien.* He reported that in England *Clarissa* was regarded as the best British novel and he called for a new and modern translation of a classic, which, he said, the Germans had half forgotten.[76] However that may have been, it is true that *Clarissa* had been translated under the aegis of rationalism, before *Werther, Siegfried von Lindenberg, Fräulein von Sternheim,* and other novels had developed the language of sensitivity.

In 1789 two German translations of *Clarissa* appeared, followed by a controversy between Christian Heinrich Schmid and Ludwig Kosegarten regarding the merits of their respective efforts.[77] *Lenore Schmidt,* an adaptation of *Pamela,* appeared in 1789, and *Albertina, Richardsons Clarissa nachgebildet,* by Schulz a year before. Both works placed their characters and scenes in Germany. A new translation of *Grandison* was condemned by the *Allgemeine Litteratur-Zeitung* for not being abridged and for being superfluous in addition.[78] On the whole the critical public seemed to take the view that *Pamela* and *Grandison* were tedious works, and that the text of *Clarissa* alone was sacred.

Richardson's contribution to the continental stage was almost negligible. Voltaire's *Nanine* was but remotely related to *Pamela,* the French drama *Clarisse Harlowe* was not a success, and Wieland's *Clementine von Porretta* was distinctly a failure. A greater stage success was Goldoni's *Pamela nubile,* which was translated into French and German and which found favor in both countries. In this work Goldoni avoided the social-leveling tendency of his model.[79]

It has already been mentioned that many minor German plays took up the dramatic themes of paternal compulsion and of seduction. In a more drastic and naturalistic manner the "Genies" of the *Sturm und Drang* period treated of the subject of seduction, Lenz in his *Der Hofmeister* and *Die Soldaten,* and Wagner in his *Die Kindermörderinn* are strongly reminiscent of Richardson in certain scenes.

[76] ADB, LXXXVIII 2 (1789) 162–168.
[77] Schmid [505] and Price [509].
[78] *Loc. cit.,* 1790 IV 1194.
[79] Purdie [511].

Chapter XIV

FIELDING AND THE REALISTIC NOVEL

Two years after the publication of Richardson's *Pamela* Fielding entered the lists against it with his *Joseph Andrews*, 1742. In the introduction and in the first chapter of the third book he took issue with Richardson. According to his original plan at least, the novel was to be an indirect criticism, a parody of Richardson's work; as the virtuous Pamela resists the intrigues of her vicious master, so Joseph Andrews resists the guile of his employer, Lady Booby. In the introduction Fielding says that affectation is the sole source of the comic for him. Introduction and novel together exhibit the main cause of Fielding's antipathy to Richardson, namely the perfect characters of the latter's novels, "the monsters" against which Shaftesbury had already protested. Fielding's later works, especially his *Tom Jones*,[1] showed how developing characters were to be substituted for perfect ones.

German critics failed to grasp immediately this fundamental difference between the two authors, and remained unintelligently impartial, looking for Richardsonian morality in Fielding's novels. This was true at least of Bodmer and of Gottsched, who recommended *Pamela* and *Joseph Andrews* in their moral weeklies,[2] and at first even of Haller, the great advocate of *Clarissa*. To his mind the superiority of *Tom Jones* over *Joseph Andrews* lay in the character of Allworthy, whose "edle Erhabenheit . . . das ganze Gedicht reizend macht." He also noted: "Die zerstreuten Betrachtungen über die Vortrefflichkeit der Religion erheben sich auch über das Niedre der meisten Begebenheiten."[3] Not until later did he define the essential difference between Fielding and his rivals.

> Herr Fielding besitzt eine große Kenntniß des menschlichen Herzens. Nur gehört er zu den Mahlern, die lieber getreue als schöne Gemälde liefern, und es für keinen Fehler ansehen, der Gegenstand sey auch schon häßlich, wenn nur die Aehnlichkeit getroffen ist. Er ist ein flämmischer Mahler.[4]

Similarly Herder in his "Preisschrift," *Über die Wirkung der Dichtkunst auf die Sitten der Völker in alten und neuen Zeiten*, 1778, distinguished "zwo Gattungen der Romanklasse: die eine . . . idealisch, die andere treue

[1] *Tom Jones*, 1749, was translated into German first by Wodarch, 1749–1751 (later editions 1750, 1758, 1764, 1771); review in ADB, XLIII (1780) 152–158 by B[lankenburg?]; see also *Teutscher Merkur*, 1779, II 183 f. and 1780, II 294 f. Later translations by Fr. Schmid, 1780, and by Bode, 1786–1788. For details see Wood [366].

[2] Cf. Wood [366] and Price [509] 171.

[3] Haller, *Tagebuch*, I 61 f.

[4] GGA, 1750, 123 f.

Natur."[5] After pointing out the dangers of overstrained idealism, he said: "Die Fieldingsche Gattung des Romans . . . öffnet das Auge ungemein für Wahrheit," but he objected: "Soll der Dichter schwachen Seiten, bösen Sitten seines Jahrhunderts fröhnen oder soll er sie bessern?" He concludes by deploring the lack of moral purpose in novels generally in England and elsewhere and says they should not be taken for more than what they are, "Dichtung und Roman,"[6] hence the predominatingly moral standard he at first applied to *Clarissa* in his letters to Caroline.

Lessing was familiar with the novels of Richardson and Fielding. *Miss Sara Sampson* testifies as to the former and the reference in the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* to Partridge as a critic of Garrick and Quin testifies to the latter,[7] but in his journalistic criticism he frequently refers to them as a pair and makes no distinction regarding their aims, methods, or art. He cannot have studied Fielding's style closely for he reviewed Eliza Haywood's *History of Miss Elizabeth Thoughtless* accepting the common belief that it was by Fielding.[8] His only discriminating observation was found after his death on a loose sheet bearing the caption "Delicatesse." Here he defends the use of the word "Hure" in *Minna von Barnhelm:* "So ist es auch mit Fildingen [*sic*] und Richardson gegangen," he writes, "die groben plumpen Ausdrücke in des erstern *Andrews* und *Tom Jones* sind so sehr gemißbilliget worden, da die obscönen Gedanken, welche in der *Clarissa* nicht selten vorkommen, niemanden geärgert haben. So urtheilen Engländer selbst."[9] It appears then that Lessing was at least somewhat familiar with the English criticism of both novelists.

About twenty years after the publication of Richardson's novels the opposition to him began to find voice in Germany. Musäus, Mendelssohn, and Abbt, questioned the value of perfect characters in fiction, preferred portraits drawn from life, and objected to novels which preached directly. In his reviews in the *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*, Musäus constantly held *Tom Jones* before the public as an object of emulation,[10] and if for fifteen years no such novel appeared this was certainly not due to the overwhelming influence of Richardson. Gellert's partially Richardsonian *Gräfin* had not established a new mode and Hermes's *Sophiens Reise* existed only in the mind of its author. Then Resewitz came forward in 1764 with a demand for a German Fielding. He recognized not humor but realism as the essential element of Fielding's works and called for a

[5] Herder, *Werke*, VIII 422.
[6] *Ibid.*, VIII 424–426.
[7] Lessing, *Schriften*, IX 212.
[8] *Ibid.*, V 31.
[9] *Ibid.*, XV 62.
[10] ADB, IV 1 (1769) 281.

genius, "der die Sitten der Deutschen eben so genau zeichnete, als jener die Sitten der Engelländer gezeichnet hat . . . Dann und dann erst werden wir Fieldings haben." Ready enough to imitate other authors, the Germans have been unable to vie with Fielding:

Ohne Kenntniß der Welt, und ohne Kenntniß ihrer Nation, oft kaum mit ihrer kleinen Geburtsstadt recht bekannt, befinden sie sich gleich in einer dürren Wüste, sobald sie auch nur die Anlage zur Geschichte eines Romans machen sollen. Der Herr Schriftsteller hat außer seines Vaters Hause eine Universität gesehen, ein paar Schulfreunde gekannt, ein paar Professoren in ihrer akademischen Würde von Ferne erblickt; und nun will er Sitten mahlen, und Charaktere schildern. Wo soll er sie hernehmen? Die Franzosen und Engelländer bestehlen? Recht gut; wenn man nur eine Geschichte dazu hätte, wo man sie anbringen könnte. Verzweifelt, daß keine aufzutreiben ist!

Many an author, Resewitz imagines, intended at the first attack of writer's fever, to compose a novel of the Fielding type but was diverted to an easy imitation of Young.

Ein Roman geht gut ab; der Verleger nimmt ihn gern; solch ein *Thomas Jones* ist doch ein drollichtes Ding, das sich bey müßigen Stunden bald hinschreiben läßt. Die Feder wird angesetzt; das kleine Schulleben, auf dessen Schwänke man noch mit so vielem Wohlwollen zurückblickt, wird beschrieben; der Held geht auf die Universität, verliebt sich der Himmel weiß, in wen, und nun—ja nun, geräth die Arbeit ins Stecken! Der arme Schriftsteller martert sich. Was sollen nun für Begebenheiten folgen? In welche Situationen soll er seinen Helden setzen? Wie die Geschichte verwickeln und den Leser interessieren? Er martert sich vergebens. Endlich wirft er aus Verzweiflung die Feder hin, ergreift, mit zerknirschtem Geiste über die mißlungene Arbeit, Youngs *Nachtgedanken*, wird wehmüthig, vermuthlich über den fehlgebohrnen Roman? Nicht doch; es sind moralische Empfindungen, hohe Begeisterungen! Sie durchwühlen Kopf und Herz; der Mann muß sich Luft schaffen. Die Feder wird ergriffen; und die mißgebohrnen Wesen, die den Kopf verwirrten und das Herz abdrücken wollten, fließen stromweise in die Feder.

He pictures the author then as bringing the product of his meditations to the publisher, who accepts his "Empfindungen" readily, for such things also have a sale. "Und so kommen denn Empfindungen zur Welt, und niemand läßt es sich träumen, daß es Nachgeburten von einem fehlgebohrnen Roman sind."[11]

Between the years 1774 and 1778 at least 283 German novels were published, of which 50 or more bore a chief or secondary title "Geschichte des" or "Geschichte der." One critic estimates that at least one-third of these novels were written primarily under the influence of Richardson.[12] This is in need of substantiation since similar titles were favored by Fielding as well as Prévost, and were common in England and France as well as Germany at the time. *Die Geschichte des Herrn Wilhelm*

[11] *Briefe die neueste Litteratur betreffend*, Brief 294, XIX (1764) 159–163.
[12] Heine [186] 33.

von Hohenberg und der Fräulein Sophia von Blumenthal, 1758,[13] describes itself specifically as "nach dem Geschmacke von Fielding." Between 1760 and 1780 several novelists produced works showing a recognition of the distinctive features of Fielding's art. We may consider here Musäus, Wieland, Nicolai, Müller, and finally Goethe.

Musäus's novel *Grandison der Zweyte oder Geschichte des Herrn von N.*, 1760–1762, satisfied, to some extent, the prime demand of Resewitz, in that it offered a picture of German life. It is written in a peculiar mixture of the style of Cervantes, Fielding, and Richardson. *Joseph Andrews* shares with *Don Quixote* its satricial and parodistical qualities. The satire of *Grandison der Zweyte*, as of *Joseph Andrews*, is directed against Richardson. The "Landbesitzer," Herr von N., has fallen under the spell of Richardson's last novel and has determined to become a Grandison himself. A cousin happens to be in England. Herr von N. insists that he make the acquaintance of the Grandison circle. The cousin agrees and soon finds himself writing letters to Herr von N. under the names of Richardson's characters. The jest reaches its climax when the cousin reports that Richardson has just visited the Grandison family, has learned of the admirable intentions of Herr von N., and has asked for the entire correspondence. Herr von N. is delighted with the thought that these letters will form the basis for a fourth novel by Richardson. Such a plan gave Musäus the opportunity to parody Richardson's characters as Fielding had done in *Joseph Andrews*, but there still remain some of the Richardsonian types in his novel.

The work found favor where it might have been expected. Abbt declared: "Nirgends ist der deutsche Charakter wohl besser geschildert worden,"[14] but Herder demanded that a critic should take care "das Aeffchen nicht in die Gesellschaft seines großen Originals zu führen."[15]

The Richardson-Fielding contest was reënacted in Wieland's person. Wieland learned French by reading *Pamela* in French translation, 1747–1749, and English by reading *The Pilgrim's Progress*.[16] In 1754 he read *Grandison*. In 1757 he wrote to Künzli that he was rereading *Clarissa* and was endeavoring not to let Lovelace influence his *Araspes und Panthea* too greatly.[17] In 1759 he planned *Briefe von Karl Grandison an seine Pupille Emilia Jervois*[18] and the next year he completed his tragedy *Clementina von Porretta*. There was a fragment of real life in this drama, for the friend of his youth, Sophie Gutermann, later Sophie La Roche,

[13] Copy in the library of the University of California, Berkeley.
[14] Thomas Abbt, *Vermischte Werke*, I–VI, Berlin and Stettin, 1768–1781, II 57.
[15] Herder, *Werke*, II 320 f.
[16] Robinson, *Diary*, I 216.
[17] Wieland, *Briefe*, I 242.
[18] *Ibid.*, I 371.

was betrothed to a Catholic, but as with Grandison and Clementina, religion proved an insuperable obstacle and the engagement was broken off. Wieland's drama based on this unpromising theme, proved a failure, and an unnecessary one, since Wieland was already an admirer of Shaftesbury, but Wieland had not yet become a consistent opponent of perfect characters. His conversion took place while he was at work on his *Agathon*. That it was Fielding who opened Wieland's eyes to this inconsistency in human conduct, is suggested by his review of Hermes's *Sophiens Reise von Memel nach Sachsen:* "Fielding belehrt uns, daß nicht alles lauter Gold sey, was gleißt, daß Engelreinigkeit von Sterblichen nicht gefodert werden sollte, daß man um einzelner Handlung willen niemanden ganz verdammen müsse.[19]

But all this indicates no slavish imitation on Wieland's part. It is well to remember that *Agathon*, begun in 1764, was in no small degree a picture of its author. Wieland wrote to Zimmermann: "Ich schildere darin mich selbst, wie ich in den Umständen Agathons gewesen zu seyn mir einbilde, und mache ihn am Ende so glücklich, als ich zu seyn wünschte."[20] Wieland, like Agathon, had grown up in an atmosphere of austere virtue; he experienced a change of heart, succumbed to the attractions of a sensual existence, and was destined later, like Agathon, to strike the balance between these extremes. Though he laid the scene in Greece, the conflict of ideas was the same as that between the Puritans and their opponents in England and the adherents of Richardson and Fielding in Germany. Wieland himself admitted his indebtedness to Fielding in the introduction to his *Agathon*. He concedes "daß unser Held sich in einem sehr wesentlichen Stücke von dem Xenofontischen ebensoweit entfernt, als er dem Fieldingischen näher kommt."[21] References to Fielding are also to be found in the text itself of *Agathon* and perhaps some conclusions might be drawn from a letter of Wieland to Zimmermann in which he expresses a desire to know "les sentiments de Mlle B[ondeli] et de Mr. Tscharner sur 'the most pleasant conceited and true Chronicle [History] of the Life and marvellous Adventures of Agathon.' "[22]

The tone of *Agathon* is predominatingly serious and it bore its moral intent on the title page with the motto: "Quid virtus et quid sapientia possit, utile proposuit nobis exemplum." *Die Abentheuer des Don Sylvio von Rosalva*, 1764, though published before *Agathon*, was begun after it, and was consequently anti-Richardsonian from first to last. Wieland announced it as an imitation of *Don Quixote* and its subtitle was *Der Sieg*

[19] *Teutscher Merkur*, II 1773, 80 f.
[20] Wieland, *Briefe*, II 164; January 5, 1762.
[21] Wieland, *Schriften*, I (6) 13.
[22] Wieland, *Briefe*, II 205. The letter is erroneously dated January 19, 1752.

der Natur über die Schwärmerei. Musäus said of it: "Es herrscht hier freylich keine Originalmanier; die Stellung ist von Cervantes und die Farbenmischung ist von Fielding."[23] He could have said the same of his own novel.

Wieland's style in both these novels is strongly reminiscent of Fielding's. He frequently breaks the course of his narration in order to address the reader directly. He asserts that he is telling history, not inventing stories, and must not improve upon the truth; that he must depict human character as it is, with its mixtures of virtues and vices and its inconsistencies, rather than create those monstrosities, perfect characters; and in truth his characters like Fielding's perform apparently laudable acts from base motives and apprently reprehensible acts from good motives.

Wieland's *Agathon* led to a fuller appreciation of the merits of Fielding's work. Blankenburg's *Versuch über den Roman*, 1774, was the first extensive theoretical work on its subject in the German language. Here at last criticism stands at the parting of the ways. Richardson's novels and the novel of Gellert serve him as examples of incorrect novel writing, *Agathon* and *Tom Jones* of all that is good. Blankenburg says in his introduction:

> Noch ehe ich daran dachte, diesen Versuch zu schreiben, las ich die Wielandschen und Fieldingschen Romane, den *Agathon* und den *Tom Jones*, zu meinem Unterricht und meinem Vergnügen, sah bey jedem Schritt, der darinn geschieht, zurück auf die menschliche Natur und fand bey ihnen das, was Pope von Homer sagt: "Nature and they were the same."

Thereby Blankenburg did not mean to imply that the novels were of equal merit: "Unstreitig hat Wieland einen Schritt zur Vollkommenheit voraus; aber Fielding verdient nach ihm gestellt zu werden." Both authors created real rather than perfect characters, and both undertook the difficult task of showing how these characters came to be as they were.

> Freilich mag die Aufsuchung, die Aufklärung dieses Wie, die Entwicklung einer Begebenheit auf diese Art ein schwerer Geschäft sein, als die bloße Erzählung derselben. Es erfordert einen aufmerksamen Beobachter der menschlichen Natur, einen Kenner des menschlichen Herzens. Aber diese Art von Behandlung einer Begebenheit ist es auch, die die Lessinge, Wielande, Fieldinge, Sterne und einige andere mehr so sehr über die gewöhnlichen erhebet.[24]

[23] ADB, I 2 (1765) 97.

[24] Blankenburg [376] 272. Comparisons between *Agathon* and *Tom Jones* were not infrequent at the time. Kästner lets Tom Jones come off better than Agathon in a long debate regarding their respective virtues. See Kästner, *Gesammelte . . . Werke*, Berlin, 1841, IV 153. The same volume contains, pp. 3–5, a letter in which the character of Fielding's Amelia is compared unfavorably with that of Richardson's Pamela.

Of further interest in Blankenburg's *Versuch* is the caution with which he criticizes Richardson: "Ich fürchte die Verwunderung vieler meiner Leser über meine Kühnheit, den Richardson zu tadeln," but he adds: "In England hat er unter dem wichtigsten Theil des Volkes nie den Beyfall gehabt, den man ihm in Deutschland gegeben. Sie haben ihm den Fielding von jeher vorgezogen . . . Dies habe ich von mehr als einem Engländer gehört."[25] Blankenburg attempted to carry out his program the following year with his novel *Beyträge zur Geschichte teutschen Reiches und teutscher Sitte.*

Merck supported Blankenburg's views. When Dusch's *Karl Ferdners Geschichte* began to appear in 1766 he wrote:

> Die Manier nähert sich eher der Richardsonischen als der Fieldingischen. Möchte es doch unsern Dichtern dieses Orts endlich einmal einfallen, daß, da sie das Bild des menschlichen Lebens liefern wollen, ihr Beruf dahin gehe, daß große Haus Gottes abzudecken, und uns in alle Kammern und Winkel zu führen, um zu schauen, was da vorgeht.[26]

Hardly had Wieland completed his *Agathon* when he received from his friend and protégée, Sophie La Roche, a disturbing letter. She announced that she was about to write a novel, evidently a Richardsonian novel and asked him to introduce it to the public. He consented but with reluctance, and wrote to her, March 20, 1770:

> Je ne Vous ai jamais caché que je ne pense pas tout-à-fait comme Vous sur bien des choses relatives à la partie morale de notre être; p.e., que je n'aime pas les Clarisses, les Charles Grandisons, les Henriettes Byrons par la seule raison, qu'ils sont trop parfaits pour moi.[27]

He might have quoted from his own *Agathon*:

> Vielleicht ist kein unfehlbareres Mittel, mit dem wenigsten Aufwand von Genie, Wissenschaft und Erfahrenheit ein gepriesener Schriftsteller zu werden, als wenn man sich damit abgiebt, Menschen (denn Menschen sollen es doch seyn) ohne Leidenschaften, ohne Schwachheit, ohne allen Mangel und Gebrechen, durch etliche Bände voll wunderreicher Abenteuer, in der einförmigsten Gleichheit mit sich selbst, herum zu führen.[28]

Both of these assertions echo Shaftesbury's opinion: "In a poem, (whether Epick or Dramatick) a compleat and perfect Character is the greatest Monster."[29]

Wieland's words fell on deaf ears. Sophie La Roche's *Geschichte des Fräuleins von Sternheim* became the reigning favorite of the public and

[25] *Ibid.*, 351.
[26] *Teutscher Merkur*, 1776, III 261.
[27] Wieland, *Auswahl denkwürdiger Briefe*, ed. L. Wieland, Wien, 1815, I 150.
[28] Wieland, *Schriften*, I (6) 13, in *Agathon* V 6.
[29] Shaftesbury, *Characteristicks*, London, 1728, III 262.

was praised extravagantly by such critics as Herder and Goethe. No wonder that the author pursued her course and wrote in the same manner *Der Eigensinn der Liebe und Freundschaft*, 1772, *Rosaliens Briefe*, 1779–1781, and others little known today. As late as March, 1789, Wieland wrote to her:

> Nur wünsche ich, daß Sie wenigstens . . . aus Ihrer idealischen Vorstellungsart von Menschen und menschlichen Dingen herauskommen und beyde möchten sehen können, wie sie sind, nicht wie Sie sich nun einmal zur anderen Natur gemacht haben, sie sehn zu wollen.[30]

Sophie La Roche's conversion came almost too late: "Ach, was hätte ich nicht alles aufzeichnen können!" she wrote in 1791, "aber ich sammelte nur die Züge und Auftritte, welche mir nach meinem Charakter die liebsten waren, und gewiß habe ich darüber vieles versäumt, das andern nützlich und angenehm gewesen wäre."[31]

For the moment the good example of Fielding and Wieland was fruitless; Nicolai's *Sebaldus Nothanker*, 1773–1776, was planned almost from the first as a religious satire and Thomas Amory's *John Buncle* was well fixed in the author's mind as a model to be followed or modified. He wrote to Lessing, March 8, 1771: "Ich brüte seit einiger Zeit auch über einen Roman, der zwar kein *Buncle* werden wird, aber in Absicht auf die heterodoxen Sätze auch nichts besser."[32] Wieland's opinion of the novel was most unfavorable.[33] Amory's novel was already well known to Nicolai's circle, to Lessing, Mendelssohn, and Kästner, and also to Wieland and Uz.[34] Lessing planned to prepare a translation of it in the summer of 1771[35] but soon gave up the idea and Nicolai engaged von Spieren in his stead. The translation appeared in 1778.

Sebaldus Nothanker was a frank picture of real life and character, devoid of pose and affectation, and was one of the signs of the increasing ascendency of Fielding's taste over Richardson's. Nicolai did not lack admirers who classed his work with that of the best English humorists. Prince Friedrich von Waldeck wrote to Nicolai, May 10, 1773: "Les Fielding et les Sterne Vous ont prêté leurs crayons,"[36] but Blankenburg regretted that Sebaldus was so unplausibly drawn and wished that the author had profited more by the example of Fielding, Sterne, and Goldsmith,[37] while an anonymous critic of 1775 placed *Sebaldus* lower than

[30] Hassenkamp, *Briefe an Sophie La Roche*, Stuttgart, 1820, 279.
[31] La Roche, *Briefe über Mannheim*, 1791, 356; cf. p. 362.
[32] Lessing, *Schriften*, XX 24.
[33] See the long venomous review in the *Teutscher Merkur* 1778, II 75–90, 164–172, III 55–75, 158–173, 248–260.
[34] Schwinger [282] 162, 165, 213, 265.
[35] Lessing, *Schriften*, XV 491.
[36] Quoted by Schwinger [282] 190.
[37] NBSWFK, XVII (1775) 257 ff.

Humphrey Clinker.[38] A similar view is expressed in a quip in the *Halberstadter Dichterbuch*:

> Thom Jones, Don Quixot und Peregrine Pickel
> Sahn sich nach ihres Gleichen um.
> Nothanker kam; "wie dumm, wie dumm!"
> Sprach Jones zu dem langen Nikkel,
> "Das traurige Geschöpf in weichem Löschpapier
> Wäre ein Geschöpf wie wir?"[39]

A conservative group, to which Nicolai also belonged, was not lacking in esteem for Fielding but inveighed against the often all too imitative "Originalgenies." Lichtenberg, who was one of these rationalists, said:

> Sterne steht auf einer sehr hohen Staffel, nicht auf dem edelsten Wege. Fielding steht nicht ganz so hoch auf einem weit edleren Wege, den derjenige betreten wird, der einmal der größte Schriftsteller der Welt wird; und sein *Findling* [*Tom Jones*] ist gewiß eines der besten Werke, die je geschrieben worden sind.[40]

Lichtenberg planned a satirical novel which was to have been called "Parakleta oder Trostgründe für die unglücklichen, die keine Originalgenies sind." Because of his theories and because of this never-completed novel Lichtenberg was sometimes called the German Fielding. He himself, not only once but several times passed the compliment on to the like minded Johann Gottwerth Müller (Müller von Itzehoe) the author of *Siegfried von Lindenberg*, 1779.[41] Müller made clear his indebtedness to Fielding. He had determined, he said, "treulich auszumalen, was die Mutter Natur vorgezeichnet hatte," and so had developed the method: "Studiere den *Tom Jones* und schreib nicht eher, bis du den beurteilen und nahe an ihn dich emporschwingen kannst. Es ist eine Schande für einen Romandichter, nur mittelmäßig oder wenig mehr zu sein, seitdem dieses Meisterstück existieret."[42]

Müller's *Siegfried von Lindenberg* belongs in the same group with Musäus' *Grandison der Zweyte*. Though both are inspired by Fielding, both are satirical novels of character rather than novels of action. Siegfried is a good-natured, rough, narrow-minded "Junker" with a tendency to megalomania and is easily led by the country school teacher to exceed his authority until he learns a better way from another guide. As in Wieland's *Don Sylvio* there is a little of the technique of Cervantes along with that of Fielding. Siegfried is made attractive to the reader in spite of his faults, and a comparison with *Grandison der Zweyte* reveals the

[38] *Revision der teutschen Literatur*, 1776, II 239 and III 204 ff.
[39] See Pröhle in AL, IV (1875) 344.
[40] Lichtenberg, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, ed. Wilbrandt, Stuttgart, 1893, 73.
[41] Lichtenberg, *Briefe*, ed. Litzmann and Schüddekopf, Leipzig, 1901–1904, I 364, II 167, III 123–125.
[42] Müller, *Siegfried von Lindenberg*, Hamburg, 1779, 263.

progress that has been made in the interim. Müller's vein of invention was soon exhausted yet Lichtenberg wrote to him as late as 1794: "Über die Unerschöpflichkeit Ihres Genies, theurester Freund, muß ich in Wahrheit erstaunen. Sie tragen in dem kleinen Itzehoe ein gantzes London in Ihrem Kopf."[43]

Twenty years after the appearance of Musäus's *Grandison der Zweyte* the edition was exhausted and the publishers called for a new one. A literary satire soon grows old. Tastes had changed notably in Germany between 1760 and 1780 and new favorites had crowded Richardson temporarily somewhat into the background. Musäus had to exert himself in what he called "die Verheutigung meines alten Grandisons, . . . das Buch relevant zu machen."[44] The revision was called *Der deutsche Grandison, auch eine Familiengeschichte*, 1781. Musäus was often clearly in a quandary, fearing his readers would fail to recall the details of Richardson's novels, but he declined to impute to his public "eiserne Ignoranz" of their one-time vogue.

> Wie die beyden Extremen, Werther und Siegwart, . . . auf unsere gegenwärtige Generation gewirkt haben . . . eben so wirkten bey der nächstvorhergehenden, diese ausländischen Droguen auf Geist und Herz. . . . Es gab eben so viele vaterländische Pamelen, Clarissen, Lovelacen, Grandisons, als es jetzt Lotten, Werther, Siegwarte, Sontheime, Adolphe giebt.[45]

In more than one instance Musäus is forced to the awkward expedient of explaining the point of his parodistical passages. He is more fortunate when he is able to turn his shafts against the novels of the German sentimentalists. Thus the two editions of his work stand as convenient landmarks in the history of the German novel.

Wieland's *Agathon* pointed to Goethe the way from Richardson to Fielding, from "Helden ohne Schwachheiten und Mängel, Tugendpuppen von staunenswerther Kaltblütigkeit" to "reizbare, empfindliche, bildungsfähige Jünglinge, [die] auf einer Reihe von Proben und Versuchungen mit ihren überspannten Idealen Schiffbruch leiden, durch die Erfahrungen kälter werden und den Bedingungen des wirklichen Lebens sich fügen."[46] When Wilhelm Meister wavers between the sensual, soulless Philine and the all-too-emotional Mignon to find happiness finally in the well-balanced Nathalie one is reminded of Agathon's experience, but also of Tom Jones's. Goethe planned a novel in which the hero should be a rather passive character and should develop as a result of outside experiences. To this end the narrow limits of time and space, so

[43] Lichtenberg, *Briefe*, III 125. Cf. II 168.
[44] Musäus, *Nachgelassene Schriften*, ed. A. von Kotzebue, Leipzig, 1781, 189–190.
[45] *Op. cit.*, I–II, Eisenach, 1780–1781, introduction.
[46] Minor [371] 153.

advantageous to *Werther* had to be extended.[47] If *Wilhelm Meister* seems less modern than *Tom Jones* it is chiefly because it makes more frequent use of certain seventeenth-century paraphernalia, chance encounters, unplausibly concealed identities tardily revealed, and unlikely coincidences and because the background is less realistic. The *Theatralische Sendung* is more reminiscent of Fielding than is the *Lehrjahre*, from which many of the cruder elements characteristic of the English humorous novel were eliminated.[48]

Fielding must stand here almost alone as the representative of his type of novel although he had his imitators in England and several of their works were translated into German. Of the followers of Fielding, Smollett was best known in Germany. The novels of Fielding are in the tradition of the Spanish picaresque novel, but tinged with contemporary reflection on problems of morality, from which Smollett's novels are comparatively free. Partly for that reason they found less favor in Germany. *Roderick Random*, 1748, was translated in 1754; *Peregrine Pickle*, 1751, and *Humphrey Clinker*, 1791, both within two years after their appearance in England, the other novels only after a longer interval. Lessing ranked Smollett far below Fielding, Richardson, and Lesage and classified *Roderick Random* as a useless book which provided neither the intellect with occasion for useful reflections, nor the heart for good resolutions.[49] Blankenburg commended Smollett's novels because they gave true pictures of English customs not excluding even those of low life.[50] Herder admired the manifold possibilities of prose fiction and granted Smollett's novel the right to exist side by side with the works of Fielding, Richardson, and other masters.[51] Goethe told Eckermann in 1827 that he had never read *Roderick Random*.[52] The evidence Jahn presents to indicate he had read *Humphrey Clinker* before he wrote *Theatralische Sendung* is not convincing.[53]

Fielding's comedies proved ill-suited to the needs of the German stage. Seven of them were translated, but only *The Wedding Day* had a long stage career. Stephanie der Jüngere adapted it for the Vienna stage in 1765, and Schröder for the Hamburg stage under the title *Um sechs Uhr ist Verlobung*, 1785.

On the other hand the adventures of Tom Jones long interested playwrights and public. The first to dramatize the novel was George Colman

[47] Goethe, *Werke*, I (22) 128.
[48] Jahn [226] 173.
[49] Lessing, *Schriften*, VII 27.
[50] Blankenburg [376] 240 and 388.
[51] Herder, *Werke*, XIX 109.
[52] Eckermann, *Gespräche*, 239.
[53] Jahn [226] 230.

the elder under the title *The Jealous Wife,* 1761. Bode translated this comedy the following year and it was played in Hamburg, 1765–1770. Stephanie der Jüngere adapted it for the Vienna stage in 1771. A version under the title *Das Hausregiment* was written in Mannheim in 1781 and produced there as late as 1801. It has been attributed to W. Chr. D. Meyer. Kotzebue's version of 1819 was played in Vienna thirty-five times between 1819 and 1846.

The operetta *Tom Jones* by Poinsinet, translated by Gotter in 1772, was also popular. The comedies of Steffens, 1765, and of Heufeld, 1767, both under the name of *Tom Jones* fell rather flat. A dramatization by Beck placed the action in German surroundings. It was first called *Natur und Heucheley,* then *Lohn der Liebe* and was finally presented as *Verirrung ohne Laster,* 1793. The play is somewhat original, but on the whole tedious.[54]

Regarding the dramatizations of Smollett's novels I have reported elsewhere. Stephanie der Jüngere drew upon *The Expedition of Humphrey Clinker* for two dramatic plots, and *Peregrine Pickle* provided a plot for an anonymous playwright. None of these comedies is important.[55]

The young "Genies" greeted Fielding with enthusiasm. In his critical opinions Fielding sometimes appears as one of their predecessors. He wanted to retain Punch and Judy as Goethe and Möser would have retained Hanswurst. Like the "Sturm und Drang" dramatists he despised book-learning and held observation of real life to be the foundation of all true character representation. Fielding was furthermore an individualist in his art. "I am the founder of a new province in writing," he said, "so I am at liberty to make what laws I please therein."[56] The ideal state of Fielding and of the "Sturm und Drang" is neither a republic nor a constitutional monarchy, but an enlightened despotism in which the ruler is guided not so much by reason as by the dictates of a great and sympathetic heart.

The realistic dramatists of the "Sturm und Drang" preferred Fielding's life-like portraits to Richardson's idealizations. Schiller defended his own mixed characters in *Die Räuber* with a certain side thrust at Richardson. He desired to offer, he said, "eine Copie der Wirklichen Welt, und keine idealischen Affektationen, keine Kompendien-Menschen."[57] Similarly Lenz said: "Was ist Grandison, der abstrahierte, der geträumte, gegen einen Rebhuhn der dasteht?"[58]

[54] For details see Price [369].
[55] For details see Price [571].
[56] *Tom Jones,* Book II, chap. 2.
[57] Schiller, *Werke,* IV 49.
[58] Lenz, *Gesammelte Schriften,* ed. Blei, München, 1909, I 235.

The rivalry of brothers of opposite types was a subject favored by the young geniuses, and a connection of *Tom Jones* with *Die Räuber* is demonstrable, for the chief source of Schiller's tragedy was a narrative related by Schubart in *Schwäbisches Magazin* in 1775. Its very title, *Zur Geschichte des menschlichen Herzens*, is reminiscent of the subtitle of *Tom Jones* in its first translation into German. At the close of the story Schubart himself refers to Fielding's novel saying: "Die Geschichte, die aus glaubwürdigen Zeugnissen zusammengeschlossen, beweist, daß es auch deutsche Jones und deutsche Blifil gebe." The treatment of a similar theme by Leisewitz in *Julius von Tarent* and Klinger in *Die Zwillinge* one year after the publication of Schubart's story is more than a coincidence.

Schiller remained steadfast in his admiration for Fielding, for he considered him a moralist. "Welch ein herrliches Ideal mußte nicht in der Seele des Dichters leben, der einen Tom Jones und eine Sophia erschuf."[59] He describes the true "Genie" as "schamhaft aber nicht decent . . . verständig aber nicht listig" and says that what little we know of the great geniuses, Sophocles, Archimedes, Hippocrates, Ariosto, Dante, Tasso, Raphael, Dürer, Cervantes, Shakespeare, Fielding, Sterne, supports this assertion.[60]

[59] Schiller, *Werke*, XVII 516.
[60] *Ibid.*, XVII 491.

Chapter XV

STERNE AND THE SENTIMENTAL NOVEL

Richardson and Fielding were followed by Sterne and Goldsmith, who were in no sense opposites like their predecessors, but displayed in humaner form the characteristics of both; with them excessive contrast of good and bad on the one hand, and ridicule on the other, became good-natured raillery at human failings with an occasional forgiving tear. Sterne first bade defiance to novelistic pedantry in *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman*, 1759–1767, and then under the guise of a rambling sketch of travel produced a novel of a new sort, *A Sentimental Journey through France and Italy*, 1768, which had unity only of mood. With a stricter sense of form, Goldsmith offered his one-volume novel, *The Vicar of Wakefield*, 1766. The works of both authors had a simultaneous vogue in Germany and appealed to the same group of readers.

Laurence Sterne, like Richardson, proved to be a larger factor in German than in English literary history. The beginnings of his literary career hardly portended this outcome. His *Tristram Shandy* began to appear at the end of 1759, and by March, 1760, he found himself lionized in London, yet in spite of this his novel waited three years before it found a German translator in Zückert, 1763–1767. The *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* in 1768 spoke of Sterne as an author almost unknown in Germany,[1] and Wieland in a letter to Zimmermann described a recent review in the *Neue Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und freyen Künste*[2] as "kaltsinnig, perfunctorisch und kleinfügig."[3] The many digressions may have discouraged German readers, who were further handicapped by their lack of familiarity with the background of English life.

Tristram Shandy won several notable friends in Germany almost immediately. However, Sterne's widespread popularity began in Germany when, less than three years before his death, he published his *Sentimental Journey*. This work found a translator almost immediately in Bode. Lessing and Ebert encouraged Bode in his work and Lessing coined for him the word "empfindsam."[4] *Yoricks empfindsame Reise* appeared in

[1] ADB, Anhang zu Bdn. I–XXV, 898.
[2] *Loc. cit.*, 1776, III 1.
[3] Wieland, *Briefe*, II 287.
[4] Lessing, *Schriften*, XVII 256. Cf. Wiegand, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*: "empfindsam." Bode was one of the most prolific translators from the English of his time. His translations (see Wihan [188]) include: Moore, *The Gamester* (1753) in 1754; Hoadley, *The Suspicious Husband* (1747) in 1754; Colman, *The Jealous Wife* (1761) in 1762; Whitehead, *The School for Lovers* (1762) in 1771; Cumberland, *The West Indian* (1771) in 1772; Congreve, *The Way of the World* (1698) in 1787; Sterne, *A Sentimental Journey* (1768) in 1769; Sterne, *Yorick's Sentimental Journey, continued by Eugenius* (1769),

1768 and passed into a second edition the next year. Another translation in 1769 by Mittelstedt had an almost equally good fortune. In this way popular attention was again attracted to the almost neglected *Tristram Shandy*, which Bode also translated, 1774, with a list of subscribers appended. The list contained more than six hundred names, among them Boie, Claudius, Gerstenberg, Gleim, Frl. von Göchhausen, Goethe, Hamann, Herder, Hippel, Jacobi, Klopstock, Schummel, Wieland (five copies), and Zimmermann. Bode's merit as a translator rests chiefly upon his very free renderings of Sterne. He has even been accused of translating *Tom Jones* after the manner of Sterne rather than of Fielding.

So delayed was the translation of *Tristram Shandy* that the English original was known to many of the German literati long before it became common property. Mendelssohn testifies to Lessing's early enthusiasm for Sterne,[5] and Lessing retained his admiration in later years in spite of the crop of trashy imitations that had sprung up everywhere, and in spite of the ensuing attacks upon the originator. Lessing declared on hearing of Sterne's death that he would gladly have resigned to him five years of his own life, even though he had but ten left, on condition that he keep on writing no matter what, life and opinions, or sermons, or journeys;[6] and seven years later he was of like mind,[7] but chronology precludes any "Dosis Yorickscher Empfindsamkeit" in Tellheim[8] and it cannot be said that the logical Lessing was ever deeply influenced by the writings of Sterne.

Sterne has placed the unmistakable stamp of his unique personality on both his novels. The same humor, tolerance, and whimsicality prevail in both, yet *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy* deals, as its title suggests, with opinions and is a polemic, though a good natured one, against hypocrisy, superstition, the Catholic church, dogmatism, certain absurdities of rationalism, and whatever else the author considers to be injurious. In short *A Sentimental Journey* is a sentimental novel and *Tristram Shandy* could be construed as a rational novel. Consequently Sterne found favor in two literary camps in Germany sometimes for different reasons, and sometimes because of different books.

We may consider first a group of simple enthusiasts who seized upon

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no date; Sterne, *Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gent.* (1759–1767) in 1774; Sterne, *Letters* (1775) in 1775; Smollett, *Humphrey Clinker* (1771) in 1772; Goldsmith, *The Vicar of Wakefield* (1766) in 1776; Fielding, *Tom Jones* (1749) in 1786–1787.

[5] Mendelssohn, *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. G. B. Mendelssohn, Leipzig, 1844, V 171. Letter of July, 1763.

[6] Lessing, *Schriften*, XVII 255; cf. Bode's introduction to *Yoricks empfindsame Reise*.

[7] GJ, XIV (1893) 51 f.

[8] Cf. Schmidt [255] 174, 465. The suggestion is withdrawn from the later editions.

the externals of Sterne's novels and imitated his mannerisms and his characters in their novels or in their daily life. Then we may pass in review the followers of the rational Sterne, that is to say, Nicolai, Wezel, Blankenburg, Wieland, Thümmel, and finally Tieck—not Tieck the romanticist, but the Tieck of the Berlin-Nicolai years up to about 1800. Going back then a quarter of a century, we may touch upon Hippel as a transition to the first full appreciator of Sterne, Jean Paul Richter, finally concluding the survey with some of Goethe's comments on Sterne.

The "Empfindsamen" in Germany worshipped at Sterne's feet. A type of sentimentality developed, as Goethe said, "bei deren Ursprung und Fortgang man den Einfluß von Yorick-Sterne nicht verkennen darf. Es entstand eine Art zärtlich leidenschaftlicher Ascetik, welche, da uns die humoristische Ironie des Briten nicht gegeben war, in eine ledige Selbstquälerei gewöhnlich ausarten mußte."[9] The letters of Jacobi to Gleim in Halberstadt and the letters of the Darmstadt "saints" are contemporary evidence of this one time mode and mood. Jacobi's freemasonry of the "Lorenzo Dose" was formed spontaneously at the moment he read to his brother and some guests the story of the Franciscan who begged alms of Yorick. Within his circle Jacobi was known as Toby.[10] Jacobi wrote soon after to Gleim asking him to help spread the order, and in truth the manufacture of Lorenzo Dosen began actively thereupon.[11]

The chief literary monument, or perhaps one should say gravestone, of the Halberstadt enthusiasm was Johann Georg Jacobi's *Winterreise*, 1769. The less important *Sommerreise*, written in the same year, was not even included in the later editions of Jacobi's works. In these mawkish products the humor of Sterne is lacking and the sentimentality is intensified to compensate, but even here there is an often discordant note of rationalism.

In Darmstadt, Louise von Ziegler thought of herself as Maria of Moulines. "Sie ist ein süßes schwärmerisches Mädchen," Caroline von Flachsland wrote to Herder, "hat ihr Grab in ihrem Garten gebaut, einen Thron in ihrem Garten, ihre Lauben und Rosen, wenns Sommer ist, und ihr Schäfchen, das mit ihr ißt und trinkt,"[12] and later:

> Meine Lilla habe ich, seit sie hier ist, nur etliche mal gesehen, und einmal in Gesellschaft Merks, und Göthe die Geschichte des armen Le Febre aus dem *Tristram Shandy* lesen hören—o wenn sie das Mädchen kennten, sie ist ein Engel von Empfindung und tausendmal beßer als ich, sie gab mir Blümchen aus ihrem Garten, und ich legte sie in "Yoricks empfindsame Reisen"—wenn Göthe von Adel wäre, so wollte ich, daß er sie vom Hoff wegnähme.[13]

[9] Goethe, *Werke*, I (33) 208.
[10] Thayer [577] 112.
[11] QF II (1874) 27.
[12] Herder, *Briefwechsel*, XLI (1928) 22; February 6, 1772.
[13] *Ibid.*, II 108; May 8, 1772.

"Empfindsam" was the "Modewort" of the time and scores of books appeared bearing it in the title. The Breslau student Schummel relates of his *Empfindsame Reisen durch Deutschland*, 1770–1772: "Als ich Yoricks Schriften eins, zwei, drei, viermal gelesen hatte und zum Glück oder Unglück grade um diese Zeit von meinem Verleger eine Einladung zur Autorschaft empfing, so überfiel mich der Schreibenthusiasmus so heftig und ungestüm, daß ich ihm allein nicht widerstehen konnte."[14] At the conclusion Schummel says that his ardor for *Tristram* has been cooled by the critics; he mentions Sonnenfels and Riedel. He apologizes for his shameless description of his parents which, he says, he wrote under Sterne's influence, otherwise the faults of the book are his own. With the exception of a few passages which he mentions he holds his work to be beneath all criticism. With equal severity a reviewer in the *Frankfurter gelehrte Zeitung*, quite probably Goethe, protested:

> Alles hat er dem guten Yorick geraubt, Speer, Helm und Lanze. Nur Schade! inwendig steckt der Herr Präceptor S. zu Magdeburg. . . . Yorick empfand, und dieser setzt sich hin zu empfinden; Yorick wird von seiner Laune ergriffen, weinte und lachte in einer Minute und durch die Magie der Sympathie lachen und weinen wir mit; hier aber steht einer und überlegt: wie lache und weine ich? was werden die Leute sagen, wenn ich lache und weine? was werden die Recensenten sagen?[15]

Most of the German opponents of sentimentalism attacked the imitators of Sterne rather than Sterne's own novels.[16] Blankenburg observed that what the imitators of Sterne chiefly lacked was "Kenntnis des menschlichen Herzens,"[17] and Lichtenberg said: "Töricht affektierte Sonderbarkeit . . . wird das Kriterium von Originalität und das sicherste Zeichen, daß man einen Kopf habe, dieses, wenn man sich des Tages über ein paarmal darauf stellt. Wenn dieses auch eine Sternische Kunst wäre so ist wohl so viel gewiß, es ist keine der Schwersten."[18] Opposition sometimes took the form of a satire as in Goethe's *Der Triumph der Empfindsamkeit*, a work which was, however, directed chiefly against the imitators of *Werther*.

Hamann and Herder read Sterne's *Tristram Shandy* together in Riga (1764–1769) and during temporary separations from one another wrote letters in which Hamann was addressed as Tobias Shandy and Herder as Yorick.[19] Herder did not read *The Sentimental Journey* until Novem-

[14] Quoted by Kawerau [594] 153.
[15] *Loc. cit.*, March 3, 1772. In DLD, VII (1882) 109. Cf. Goethe, *Werke* I (37) 214 f., and I (38) 317 f.
[16] Regarding the imitators of Sterne see Thayer [577].
[17] Blankenburg [376] 273.
[18] Lichtenberg, *Vermischte Schriften*, ed. L. C. Lichtenberg and Kreis, Göttingen, 1844, II 175.
[19] *Herders Briefe an Hamann*, ed. Hoffmann, Berlin, 1889, 25, 27, 49.

ber, 1768. His enthusiasm for Sterne still glowed warmly during his stay in Strassburg. In his letters of the time to Caroline Flachsland there are several references to *Tristram Shandy* and *The Sentimental Journey*[20] and there he communicated his enthusiasm to Goethe, and Goethe his in turn to Jung-Stilling, who reported: "Herr Göthe gab ihm in Ansehung der schönen Wissenschaften einen anderen Schwung. Er machte ihn mit Ossian, Shakespeare, Fielding, und Sterne bekannt; und so gerieth Stilling aus der Natur ohne Umwege in die Natur."[21] In Darmstadt Goethe read from *Tristram Shandy* to his associates.[22] On leaving Wetzlar he attended what he calls the "Congress der Empfindsamen" at the home of Sophie La Roche in Thal near Ehrenbreitstein[23] and in later years he admitted that Yorick helped to prepare the groundwork on which *Werther* was built.[24] To a less degree than many of his contemporaries, but still to some extent Goethe adopted during the 1770's certain of the stylistic mannerisms of Sterne.

The earliest important novel of the "Aufklärer" to be affected by the example of *Tristram Shandy* was Nicolai's *Leben und Meinungen des Herrn Magister Sebaldus Nothanker*, 1773–1776, but Sebaldus is not, like Tristram, an agreeable, if ironic, protester against superstition and dogmatism. Rather he is a fanatical, intolerant rationalist, ready to suffer martyrdom for his disbelief in the divine revelation of the Bible. He can more properly be compared with another of his acknowledged prototypes, Amory's John Buncle Esq., who, to be sure, was also a more agreeable rationalist than Sebaldus. In that Nicolai utilized crusading zeal against orthodoxy as a "ruling passion," his work was characteristic of the Berlin "Aufklärung."

The theme of Johann Karl Wezel's novel, *Die Lebensgeschichte Tobias Knauths des Weisen, sonst der Stammler genannt*, 1773–1776, is more similar to that of Sterne's novel. Although the author asserted in his preface that he had planned the work before he ever read anything by Sterne, it is nevertheless undeniable that he adopted many of his tricks, mannerisms, and motifs. Like Sterne he lays great stress on prenatal influence and on heredity. He seeks to find exterior causes for everything, even for the emotions. Moderate eating, he insists, makes for rational thinking, and overeating for tearfulness and sentimentalism. This was a pet notion of Wezel. In his later novel *Wilhelmine Arend oder die Gefahren der Empfindsamkeit*, 1782, he returns to it. On the whole Wezel

[20] *Herders Briefwechsel;* see its index.
[21] Jung Stilling, *Heinrich Stillings Jugend*, Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1780, 139.
[22] *Herders Briefwechsel*, XLI (1928) 108.
[23] Goethe, *Werke*, I (28) 178.
[24] *Ibid.*, I (33) 208 f.

created in Tobias Knauth an odd but not an attractive character, and approached Sterne's rationalism but not his good humor.

Among the other novels of the time suggestive by their title of Sterne were Bock's *Die Geschichte eines empfundenen Tages,* 1770; Schwager's *Leben und Schicksale des Martin Dickius,* 1775; Kotzebue's *Geschichte meines Vaters, oder wie es zuging, daß ich gebohren wurde,* 1788; Göschen's *Reise von Johann,* 1793, and Hedemann's *Empfindsame Reise von Oldenburg nach Bremen,* 1796. It would be a dull task to describe these and many others of their kind in detail.[25] A critic of the time wished the authors and their novels might rot in a common grave of oblivion.[26] In England and in Germany there were protests against the glorification of Sterne. Smollett in *The Critical Review,* and Goldsmith in *The Citizen of the World* had taken exception to Sterne's ideas. Lichtenberg told his fellow countrymen that Sterne's simplicity and tender heart were feigned. In reality, he said, Yorick was a parasite, a flatterer, "ein scandalum ecclesiae."[27] Sturz reported that Garrick told him Sterne was a lewd fellow whose moral nature had suffered from the adulations of London.[28]

Tristram Shandy received serious attention at the hands of Blankenburg, who was the authority on novels within the group to which he belonged. In his *Versuch über den Roman,* 1774, Blankenburg demanded, as a good rationalist should, that a novel should have a moral aim. Furthermore the actions of the characters must be thoroughly motivated. "Jeder kleine Umstand der äußeren Welt ist für den Dichter wichtig." The treatment of whimsical characters Blankenburg regarded as useful, but this is not a practical aim for German novelists, "weil Deutschlands politische Einrichtung und Gesetze und unsere allerliebsten artigen französischen Sitten diese Laune schlechterdings nicht gestatten."[29] It is the proper function of German novelists to portray the character types and customs of their own land. In accordance with this rational prescription he wrote a novel bearing the unromantic title *Beyträge zur Geschichte des deutschen Reichs und deutscher Sitten,* 1775. This novel too adopted the mannerisms and methods of *Tristram Shandy.* Its intent is clearly enough indicated in Blankenburg's *Versuch über den Roman* as quoted above. Blankenburg was convinced that a novel should have a purpose and also that a German novel should portray German characters and customs. Deliberately he substituted these collective characteristics for the whims

[25] See Thayer [577] 112–115; also Czerny [590], Vacano [1528], Kerr [1527], Buchholz [518], Ransmeier [1529], and Bauer [1531].

[26] *Allgemeine Litteraturzeitung,* October, 1785.

[27] Lichtenberg, *Vermischte Schriften,* I 184 and III 112. (Cf. fn. 18, above).

[28] Sturz, *Schriften,* Leipzig, 1779, I 12 f. Cf. *Deutsches Museum* 1776, II 602 and 1771, I 449.

[29] Blankenburg [376] 188.

and ruling passions of Sterne, believing that eccentrics of the Sterne type could not exist in Germany. What was more consistent then than to write a novel which should hold up to ridicule the German custom of aping French ways of life? Merck was not justified in dismissing the work as a weak and slavish imitation of *Tristram Shandy*.[30] Whatever the absolute merits of Blankenburg's work may be, he seems to have produced just the novel he set out to write.

Wieland was one of the first German authors to fall under the spell of Sterne. On reading *Tristram Shandy* late in 1767 he was immediately captivated and felt akin to its author.[31] Having passed from pietism to a type of hedonism he, as little as Sterne, was inclined to ridicule religion and those who professed it, though bigotry was distasteful to him. He praised the "Evangelium Yoricks" as "lauter Naturalismus, Deismus und Pelagianismus, ja purer verfeinerter Epikurismus, Philosophie der Grazien, und, mit einem Worte, pures Heidenthum."[32] Both authors were controlled by sympathetic hearts; both were impressed, but not depressed, by the weakness of human nature; both loved piquanteries, often made the more conspicuous by their elaborate apologies. When Wieland heard of Sterne's death he wrote to Riedel:

> Was für Verlust ist sein Tod! Ich kann ihn nicht verschmerzen. Unter allen vom Weibe Gebornen ist kein Autor, dessen Gefühl, Humor und Art zu denken vollkommner mit dem meinigen sympathesirt; den ich besser verstehe, auch wo er Anderen dunkel ist; der mich mehr lehrt; der dasjenige so gut ausdrückt, was ich tausendmal empfunden habe, ohne es ausdrücken zu können oder zu wollen.[33]

In the preceding year he had written to Zimmermann:

> Ich gestehe Ihnen, mein Freund, daß Sterne beynahe der einzige Autor in der Welt ist, den ich mit einer Art von ehrfurchtsvoller Bewunderung ansehe. Ich werde sein Buch studiren, so lang ich lebe, und es doch noch nicht genug studiert haben. Ich kenne keines, worin so viel ächte Socratische Weisheit, eine so tiefe Kenntniß des Menschen, ein so feines Gefühl des Schönen und Guten, eine so große Menge neuer und feiner moralischer Bemerkungen, so viel gesunde Beurtheilung, mit so viel Witz und Genie verbunden wäre.[34]

When Wieland first heard that Bode was about to translate *Tristram Shandy* he wrote: "*Tristram Shandy* ist ein außerordentliches und vortreffliches Werk der Natur," but as often as he reads it, he says, he becomes impatient with the author, who for lack of ability to restrain himself, has written a "Mischmasch von Weisheit, Thorheit, Witz, Empfin-

[30] *Teutscher Merkur*, 1776, I 270.
[31] Wieland, *Briefe*, II 286 f.
[32] *Ibid.*, III 16; November 15, 1770.
[33] *Auswahl denkwürdiger Briefe* . . ., ed. L. Wieland, Wien, 1815, I 231 f.
[34] Wieland, *Briefe*, II 287 f.

dung, Geschmack, Unsinn, Metaphysik des Herzens, Kenntnis der Welt, Critik, feinen Scherz, unnachahmlicher Laune und unausstehlichen Plattheiten," when he might have written "das angenehmste und beste Buch in der Welt."[35] Perhaps *Tristram Shandy* is that still despite its faults. Nevertheless the translator would do a service not only to the author but to the public as well, if he would simply leave out some parts of the work where the crudity of composition is too obnoxious. Bode's translation, when it appeared, satisfied Wieland's demands and he exclaimed:

> Wo ist der Mann von Verstand und Geschmack . . . der nicht lieber alle seine übrigen Bücher, und seinen Mantel und Kragen im Nothfall dazu, verkauffen wollte, um sich dies in seiner Art einzige . . . Buch anzuschaffen und . . . so lange darinn zu lesen, bis alle Blätter davon so abgerissen und abgenutzt sind, daß er sich—zum großen Vergnügen des Verlegers—ein neues Exemplar anschaffen muß.[36]

Wieland wrote to Gleim, October 2, 1764: "Vergangenen August den ganzen Monat hindurch hatte mich eine philosophische Laune angewandelt, welche mit der Yorickschen etwas ähnliches hat, ohne Nachahmung zu seyn. Da schrieb ich *Σωκράτης μαινόμενος oder Dialogen des Diogenes von Sinope aus einer alten Handschrift.*"[37] In this work, published in 1770, as well as in *Der neue Amadis* of the following year, we find, along with some Shandean philosophy and style, traces of the eroticism but not the "Empfindsamkeit" of the *Sentimental Journey.*

In a series of entertaining philosophical discussions Wieland attacked the very evils Sterne detested, particularly hypocrisy and narrow-minded dogmatism. These works are *Beyträge zur geheimen Geschichte des menschlichen Verstandes und Herzens,* 1770, *Der goldne Spiegel,* 1772, *Die Geschichte des Weisen Danischmend,* 1775, and *Die Geschichte der Abderiten,* 1774.

The first three treatises of the *Beyträge* had their inception as polemics against certain phases of Rousseau's philosophy, but the mood of Sterne prevails in all. There are phrases such as "würde der alte Herr Walther Shandy ausrufen," and "mit Tristram zu reden."[38] In one of his digressions he lets a critical reader charge that he is imitating Sterne. In defending himself against the imputation he takes pains to borrow his phrases and witticisms from Sterne.[39] *Der goldne Spiegel* was described by Wieland as a chapter "aus der Geschichte der Weisheit und der Thorheit in den Jahrbüchern des menschlichen Geschlechtes."[40] *Die*

[35] *Teutscher Merkur,* II 1773, 229 f.
[36] *Ibid.,* VIII 1774, 247; cf. *Ibid.,* V 1774, 345 and VI 1774, 363 f.
[37] Wieland, *Briefe,* II 329.
[38] Wieland, *Schriften,* I (7) 398, 395.
[39] *Op. cit.,* Leipzig, 1770, 83–91. Not included by Wieland in his collected works.
[40] Wieland, *Schriften,* I (9) 10.

Geschichte des Weisen Danischmend has as its chief theme the bigotry of the orthodox clergy, a subject to which Sterne devoted his longest chapter in *Tristram Shandy,* and *Die Geschichte der Abderiten* is a satire on "Spießbürgerlichkeit," which Sterne persiflated elsewhere in *Tristram Shandy.* In all these works the style of Sterne is evident. We find confidential remarks addressed to the reader, constant deviations from the main theme, with occasional promises to do better in the future and numerous other mannerisms of Sterne.

Nearly all of Wieland's enthusiastic exclamations regarding Sterne have reference to *Tristram Shandy,* to which he subordinated *The Sentimental Journey.* In his *Teutscher Merkur* he mentions "die humoristischen Reisejournale, von welchen Tristram Shandys Reisebeschreibung im 7ten Theil das ewig-unerreichbare Urbild und wovon selbst Yoricks *Empfindsame Reise* (wiewohl beyde einen Verfasser haben) nur die beste Nachahmung ist."[41] Thus Wieland sensed the common element in the two so different works. The rococo Wieland was susceptible to the charm of the rococo Sterne. Both felt that life was something to be enjoyed and that right feeling was helpful to an individual as well as right thinking. Among the human pleasures were friendship, sympathy for one's fellow men, and love, or, at least, ephemeral erotic emotions. In short, Wieland appreciated Sterne, agreed with his view of life, admired his technique and adopted it, but rarely created beings after the image of Sterne's chief characters.

In Thümmel's *Reise in die mittäglichen Provinzen von Frankreich im Jahre 1785–1786,* begun in 1791, the traveler Wilhelm is a hypochondriac, who sets forth to taste of life where it is lived most naturally, in France, and so by experience to become sound—an entirely rationalistic endeavor. He is apprenticed to love by a series of experiences, hence it is a "Bildungsroman" in the sense of *Agathon.* The experiences are described quite nearly as Sterne would have reported them in his *Sentimental Journey,* and with more allure than Wieland achieved in his most highly rococo narrations. The rational Protestant observer describes a journey into darkest France, where superstition and belief in wonder-working relics are still exerting their baleful influence. This enables Wilhelm to join with Sterne in attacks on the church, on hypocrisy, and on superstition. The traveler looks upon misfortune with the same sympathetic heart as Yorick, but, more than that, he is impelled to sacrifice himself for the common good, a philanthropic trait which was a part of the heritage of "Sturm und Drang." Sterne was not the sole guide to

[41] *Teutscher Merkur,* VII 1774, 35.

Wilhelm on this journey. He set forth with a copy in his hand of La Chapelle's *Relation d'un voyage fait en France*, 1662.[42]

Ludwig Tieck is related to Sterne through his romantic irony—not the romantic irony which Friedrich Schlegel tried to define and which is represented most fully by Shakespeare, but the romantic irony of Cervantes, Sterne, and Goethe in *Wilhelm Meister*.[43] Tieck frequently mentions the three together. It was the early reading of Cervantes which enamored Tieck of that form in which the author frequently addresses his readers personally to encourage them, flatter them, or lecture them, and as frequently breaks the illusion by reminding them that the work before them is a book which he is writing. Of the three masters Tieck acknowledged, Sterne did not perhaps hold the highest place, but he was especially honored for his good will: In *Peter Lebrecht* Tieck exclaims:

> O menschenfreundlicher Sterne, wie lieb bist du mir von allen Schriftstellern immer dadurch geworden, daß du uns nicht gegen Schwächen und Thorheiten zu empören suchst, daß du nicht die Geisel der Satire schwingst, sondern dich und die übrigen Menschen auf eine gleiche Art belächelst und bemitleidest.[44]

In *Peter Lebrecht* may be found all the tricks and devices Sterne uses in *Tristram Shandy* to encourage, cajole, and perplex the reader, but these devices may be found in most of his other early works as well. By early works is meant here those written before 1800. Walzel says: "*Das jüngste Gericht*, 1800, ist wie ein Schlußstrich gesetzt unter den jugendlichen Übermut von Tiecks satirischen Teufeleien . . . Bald gab Tieck das Handwerk des Allerweltspotters auf."[45] Even before 1800 the "Stimmungsbrechungen" and destructions of illusion began to assume a different aspect, as in *William Lovell*, 1793–1795, for Tieck was becoming a romanticist in philosophy and beginning to conceive of the world as nonexistent outside of the "Ich." Such thoughts never occurred to Sterne. He may treat of his characters condescendingly and make light of their inner life, but their existence remains intact.

Theodore von Hippel certainly did not belong to the rationalistic school. His *Lebensläufe nach aufsteigender Linie*, 1778, was religious and philosophical, but the religion had a pantheistic tinge, which connects it with "Sturm und Drang," and the philosophy a subjective basis, which points the way toward the romanticists. His novel displays the manner of Sterne in its style and in its method of picturing characters. This is particularly true of the opening chapters of this partly autobiographical work, that is to say in his description of his chief character's childhood,

[42] Thümmel, *Sämmtliche Werke*, Stuttgart, 1820, IV 103 f.; cf. Kyreleis [595] 25.
[43] Lussky [597] chap. 1.
[44] Tieck, *Werke*, Berlin, 1829, XV 15.
[45] O. Walzel, *Die deutsche Romantik*[5], Berlin und Leipzig, 1923, 42 f.

parentage, and early surroundings. He attributes to both father and mother fixed religious whims and ideas which may be described as neither definitely harmful nor definitely beneficial either to the characters themselves or to the outside world. Thus in a negative way he comes closer to the tolerant spirit of Sterne than his predecessors Nicolai and Wezel. It cannot be said, however, that he succeeded by this method in giving his characters humanizing and endearing traits.

The close relationship of Jean Paul to Sterne has long been recognized. *Die romantische Schule* of Heine observed:

> Er [Jean Paul] ist der lustigste Schriftsteller und zugleich der sentimentalste. Ja, die Sentimalität überwindet ihn immer, und sein Lachen verwandelt sich jählings in Weinen. Er vermummt sich manchmal in einen bettelhaften plumpen Gesellen, aber dann plötzlich, wie die Fürsten Inkognito, die wir auf dem Theater sehen, knöpft er den groben Oberrock auf, und wir erblicken alsdann den strahlenden Stern.
>
> Hierin gleicht Jean Paul ganz dem großen Irländer, womit man ihn oft verglichen. Auch der Verfasser des *Tristram Shandy*, wenn er sich in den rohesten Trivialitäten verloren, weiß uns plötzlich durch erhabene Übergänge an seine fürstliche Würde, an seine Ebenbürtigkeit mit Shakespeare zu erinnern.[46]

To a similar effect Julian Schmidt, the chief opponent of the "Jung-Deutschen" and the subjective idealists, wrote with disapprobation several years later:

> Der trübselige Humor, der heuer bei unsern deutschen Ästhetikern allein Gnade findet, hat seinen Vater in Sterne. Dieser Humor besteht aus einem beständigen, mit Lächeln und Thränen gewürzten Kopfschütteln über das Thema Hamlets: "Es gibt mehr Ding' im Himmel und auf Erden als eure Schulweisheit sich träumt." Unsere deutschen Humoristen sind alle von diesem Vorbild inspiriert.[47]

As the earliest of these German "Humoristen" Schmidt mentioned Hamann, Hippel, and Jean Paul. Hippel's *Lebensläufe* was one of the first novels that Jean Paul read. Soon after that he began to read Swift and Sterne but he seemed to have no clear conception of the difference between the two. His Siebenkäs admitted that it was Swift and Sterne who first showed him "die rechten Wege des Scherzes."[48] Jean Paul's earliest novels were rather in the manner of Swift. In *Grönländische Prozesse*, 1783, he satirized the snobbishness of the aristocrats and the bookishness of the writers. In *Des Rektor Florian Fälbel Reise nach dem Fichtelberg* he satirized the pedantic approach to nature, but in his *Leben des vergnügten Schulmeisterlein Maria Wuz in Auenthal*, 1793, he created the first German character deserving of a place beside Uncle Toby, and Wuz was soon followed by Quintus Fixlein and Siebenkäs. In Jean Paul's

[46] Heine, *Werke*, VII 143.
[47] *Die Grenzboten*, 1851, I 167.
[48] Jean Paul, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Berend *et al.*, Weimar, 1927, I (6) 509.

works there are frequent references to Sterne and many parallels to his mannerisms. These have been pointed out in detail elsewhere. They are most evident in the early part of *Die unsichtbare Loge*, 1793, and least evident in the latter part of *Titan*, 1800–1803.[49] Jean Paul became fully aware of the nature and value of fixed ideas and hobbies. In his *Vorschule der Aesthetik* he wrote:

> Der Charakter wird nicht von *einer* Eigenschaft, nicht von vielen Eigenschaften, sondern von deren Grad und ihrem Misch-Verhältnis zu einander bestimmt; aber diesem allen ist der geheime organische Seelen-Punkt voraus gesetzt, um welchen sich alles erzeugt, und der seiner gemäß anzieht und abscheidet.[50]

More concretely he wrote that there is no such thing as particular folly and there were no fools but only "Thorheit und eine tolle Welt." "Onkel Tobys Feldzüge machen nicht etwa den Onkel lächerlich oder Ludwig XIV allein—sondern sie sind die Allegorie aller menschlichen Liebhaberei und des in jedem Menschenkopfe wie in einem Hutfutteral aufbewahrten Kindkopfes."[51]

No one was more competent to report on the influence of Sterne in Germany than Goethe, for he witnessed its inception, furthered its diffusion, and observed its effect from 1770 until his death. He viewed the eccentricities of the Darmstadt saints and the "Congress der Empfindsamen" at Ehrenbreitstein with toleration.[52] He satirized the mood in *Der Triumph der Empfindsamen* and condemned it in *Die Campagne in Frankreich*,[53] but his diaries show that he devoted himself to reading critically the works of Sterne at least three times in his later life, in 1817, in 1826, and in 1830,[54] and that he came to certain definite conclusions in regard to the contributions of Sterne to the age.

Goethe admired Sterne's opposition to pedantry. On October 1, 1830, he noted: "Er war der Erste, der sich und uns aus Pedanterey und Philisterey emportrieb,"[55] and five days later: "Mit der Zeit nimmt meine Bewunderung zu; denn wer hat Anno 1759 Pedanterey und Philisterey mit solcher Heiterkeit geschildert."[56] Goethe admired further Sterne's tolerance, tenderheartedness, and understanding of his fellow men.

> Es begegnet uns gewöhnlich bei raschem Vorschreiten der literarischen sowohl als humanen Bildung, daß wir vergessen, wem wir die ersten Anregungen, die anfänglichen Einwirkungen schuldig geworden. Was da ist und vorgeht, glauben wir, müsse

[49] Czerny [590] 62 ff.
[50] Jean Paul, *Werke*, I (11) 192.
[51] *Ibid.*, I (11) 113.
[52] Goethe, *Werke*, I (28) 178.
[53] *Ibid.*, I (17) 14.
[54] Goethe, *Werke*, III (6) 106–109, III (10) 144, I (42:2), 252–253, I (42:2) 66, I (41:2) 194 and 160, III (12) 311, IV (47) 274, IV (48) 18.
[55] *Ibid.*, III (12) 311.
[56] *Ibid.*, IV (47) 274.

so sein und geschehen; aber gerade deßhalb gerathen wir auf Irrwege, weil wir diejenigen aus dem Auge verlieren, die uns auf den rechten Weg geleitet haben. In diesem Sinne mach' ich aufmerksam auf einen Mann, der die große Epoche reinerer Menschenkenntniß, edler Duldung, zarter Liebe in der zweiten Hälfte des vorigen Jahrhunderts zuerst angeregt und verbreitet hat.[57]

Goethe admired, finally, Sterne's humor. "Yorick-Sterne war der schönste Geist, der je gewirkt hat, wer ihn liest, fühlt sich sogleich frei und schön; sein Humor ist unnachahmlich, und nicht jeder Humor befreit die Seele."[58]

In his own literary work Goethe was indebted to Sterne not for situations and characters, but only for moods and concepts, and of these concepts that of "Eigenheiten" is the most important. In *Tristram Shandy*, as in *Don Quixote*, the peculiarity or "ruling passion" is not an incident but the central theme of the novel. Goethe did not make "Eigenheiten" even a minor part in the structure of a novel until late in life in the *Wanderjahre*, and this literary use of the concept he then expressly associated with the name of Sterne. "Gar anmuthig hat in diesem Sinne Yorick-Sterne, das Menschliche im Menschen auf das Zarteste entdeckend, diese Eigenheiten, in so fern sie sich thätig äußern, 'ruling passion' genannt."[59] On many occasions he pondered over the word and tried to give it a definite meaning, so there can be no doubt that when he used it he did so advisedly. In the *Wanderjahre*, Lenardo, "der Oheim," and Makarie are all provided with "Eigenheiten" upon which quite particular emphasis is laid, but Goethe does not use these "Eigenheiten" with Sterne's humanly humorous intent. Instead he gives them ultimately a mythical and mystical interpretation.[60] Humor of the Sterne type, in fact suggested by Sterne, is apparent in Goethe's Homunculus.

On another occasion Goethe borrowed, or rather thought he borrowed, from Sterne. Several of the "Maximen" in the *Wanderjahre* in the collection called "Aus Makariens Archiv" are identical with aphorisms in *The Koran* written by Richard Griffith in 1770 and successfully foisted upon the public as a posthumous work of Sterne. Goethe, who said that Sterne's humor was inimitable, was one of thousands to be misled by this imitation. Goethe's use of these sayings has more than once been called a plagiarism.[61] Goethe wrote for the elect, whose knowledge of Sterne he could assume. He used quotation marks, if not systematically, at least sometimes, and he began with the just-quoted reference to Yorick-Sterne, "der schönste Geist, der je gewirkt hat," which is tanta-

[57] *Ibid.*, I (41:2) 252.
[58] *Ibid.*, I (42:2) 197.
[59] *Ibid.*, I (42:2) 66, I (41:2) 25–31.
[60] Klingemann [585] 45 ff., 55 ff., 67.
[61] Hédouin [580]. Cf. Springer [581].

mount to an introductory quotation mark. Two later sentences also refer to Sterne.

Regarding the insertion of these aphorisms in the *Wanderjahre*, Eckermann's account was long accepted as complete and final,[62] unsatisfactory as it was to think of their use as merely padding, but we may now disregard this report as demonstrably incorrect in every essential particular. On the contrary, Goethe planned their inclusion from the first. Wundt has pointed out:

> Diese Aphorismen stehen in jeder Arbeitsepoche (i.e. January 1827, April 1828, September 1828) im Mittelpunkt. Sie sind nicht äußerlich angefügt, eher könnte man sie als den ursprünglichen Stamm des Kapitels bezeichnen, an den alles Übrige erst sich angesetzt hat.[63]

Goethe appropriated these maxims and aphorisms in the same unconcerned way that he had made use of Shakespeare's song before the death of Valentin,[64] or, to use Walzel's comparison, he acted in the spirit of a great baroque painter, who lets his pupils and assistants carry out parts of his work.[65] The question still unanswered then is rather why the maxims were, apparently at Goethe's direction, transferred from the original place to another volume of his works treating of *Kunst und Altertum*, and here an explanation by Wundt is well worth considering.[66]

Goethe viewed rather unfavorably the form of Sterne's novels and could ill adapt to his own needs Sterne's humor. "Shandeism" or "die Unmöglichkeit, über einen ernsten Gegenstand zwei Minuten zu denken"[67] seemed to him anything but a virtue. Speaking of "die Wirkungen von Sterne und Goldsmith" he recognized the supreme ironic humor of both[68] but much preferred Goldsmith's expression of it: "Merkwürdig ist hiebey, daß Yorick sich mehr in das Formlose neigt und Goldsmith ganz Form ist, der ich mich denn auch ergab, indessen die werthen Deutschen sich überzeugt hatten, die Eigenschaft des wahren Humors sey das Formlose."[69]

[62] Eckermann, *Gespräche*, 629.
[63] Wundt in GRM, VII (1915) 177–189.
[64] Goethe, *Werke*, I (14) 186 f. Cf. Goethe to Eckermann, Janauary 18, 1825: "So singt mein Mephistopheles ein Lied von Shakespeare, und warum sollte er das nicht? Warum sollte ich mir die Mühe geben, ein eigenes zu erfinden, wenn das von Shakespeare eben recht war, und eben das sagte, was es sollte?" Eckermann, *Gespräche*, 152 f.
[65] Goethe, *Werke*, Leipzig, 1926, XIII 37.
[66] Wundt [583] 467; cf. Klingemann [585] 72.
[67] Goethe, *Werke*, I (42:2) 203.
[68] *Ibid.*, III (12) 169.
[69] *Ibid.*, IV (46) 194.

Chapter XVI

GOLDSMITH AND BENEVOLENT IRONY

When Goldsmith's *The Vicar of Wakefield* appeared in London in March, 1766, it found more favor with the public than with the literary journals. As Richardson in Germany had had his Haller, and Fielding his Blankenburg, so Goldsmith found the best of advocates in Herder. Gellius translated the novel in 1767. By September of that year Herder was reading it for the third time and recommending it to Hamann.[1] He erroneously complimented Christian Felix Weisse on the translation[2] and quoted from it casually in the *Kritische Wälder* the next year.[3] Between 1767 and 1771 he did not read it again, nor did he commend it to Caroline Flachsland in August, 1770, for he wrote to her from Strassburg in January, 1771:

> Haben Sie den *Landpriester von Wakefield* gelesen! Ich lese ihn jetzt wohl schon zum viertenmal; er ist Eins der schönsten Bücher, die in irgend einer Sprache existiren und sehr, sehr, gut übersetzt . . . Er ist von der Seite der Laune, der Charaktere, des Lehrreichen und Rührenden ein rechtes Buch der Menschheit.[4]

This judgment he repeats in a later letter saying: "Als Roman hat er Viel Fehlerhaftes, als Buch Menschlicher Gesichter, Launen, Charaktere, und was am schönsten ist, Menschlicher Herzen und Herzenssprüche, will ich für Jede Seite so viel geben als das Buch kostet!"[5]

These undated comments were first printed in *Herders Lebensbild* in 1849, as of November, 1770.[6] Hence it has always been said that Herder's reading of the novel to Goethe and his companions in Strassburg took place in that month, but the latest edition of the Herder-Caroline correspondence, without commenting on the implications, gives adequate reasons for placing the letters at the end of January and beginning of February, 1771.[7] The reasons which formerly spoke for a November reading now speak for the later time.

It is in order to reconstruct the history of the Wakefield-Brion relationship on the basis of this corrected date. Biographers have long known that Goethe, perhaps because of faulty memory, more probably for artistic effect, reversed in *Dichtung und Wahrheit* the sequence of events in Strassburg and Sesenheim. He gives us the impression that he listened

[1] *Herders Briefe an . . . Hamann*, ed. O. Hoffmann, Berlin, 1889, 38.
[2] *Herders Lebensbild*, ed. E. G. von Herder, Erlangen, 1746, I (3:2) 526 f.
[3] Herder, *Werke*, III 279.
[4] *Herders Briefwechsel*, XXXIX (1926) 148.
[5] *Ibid.*, 155.
[6] *Op. cit.* (see fn. 2, above) III (1) 276 and 279.
[7] *Herders Briefwechsel*, XXXIX (1926) 446 f.

to the story of the vicar's family in Strassburg, "überwältigt von Gefühl,"[8] and that he was later delighted to find in Sesenheim a counterpart of the Wakefield family. The truth is that first acquaintance with Pastor Brion's family occurred in the middle of October and the reading of the novel later—it was formerly said in November. But why the "Übermaß des Gefühls" where we would expect to hear only of delighted recognition? In November the acquaintance with Friederike was still young and there was nothing to presage a somber parallel of Friederike to the vicar's daughter and no premonition of coming anguish. But at some time the Brion family visited Strassburg. The rustic group was ill at ease in the city surroundings. With the visit came disillusionment, forebodings, and a sense of coming ill. On the departure of the Brions Goethe says that a stone fell from his heart.[9] There is good reason to believe that this visit took place in mid-winter.[10] By this time Goethe could well have realized that a chain of events had been formed which could only have tragic consequences for Friederike.

The new dating of the Goldsmith readings solves another contradiction. It enables us to assume without misgivings that Jung-Stilling was one of the group that listened to Herder's reading of the novel, as related by Goethe in *Dichtung und Wahrheit.*[11] In November this would have been unlikely, for Jung-Stilling did not arrive in Strassburg until September 18, and evidently several weeks elapsed before he met Herder. During the first two weeks at Salzmann's table, he preserved a strict silence, on the advice of his friend Troost. When, in spite of this, his companions made sport of him, Goethe immediately became his champion and the two became good friends on the basis of equality. Jung-Stilling gratefully records: "Goethe gab ihm in Ansehung der schönen Wissenschaften einen anderen Schwung. Er machte ihn mit Ossian, Shakespeare, Fielding und Sterne bekannt."[12] This certainly implies that Stilling did not know Herder personally at the time Ossian and Shakespeare were being discussed, namely November and December, else he would have mentioned the master Herder rather than the pupil Goethe. One also notes the omission of Goldsmith's name from the list. Only after that does he add: "Stilling wurde durch Goethe und Troost mit ihm [Herder] bekannt."

Thereafter Jung-Stilling and Goethe went together sometimes to Herder's room, for Goethe observes in *Dichtung und Wahrheit* that Her-

[8] Goethe, *Werke*, I (27) 345.
[9] *Ibid.*, I (28) 39.
[10] Metz, *Friedrike Brion*, München, 1911, 83–85.
[11] Goethe, *Werke*, I (27) 322.
[12] Jung-Stilling, *Heinrich Stillings Jugend*, Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1780, 139.

der treated Jung-Stilling more indulgently than his other disciples. At this point Goethe unexpectedly interpolates into his narrative an account of a trip into Elsass with Weyland. Then, just as unexpectedly, we find ourselves again in Herder's room and Herder is reading *The Vicar of Wakefield* to some young students.[13] Jung-Stilling is not mentioned by name, but, since the reading occurred at the end of January or beginning of February, 1771, we may safely infer his presence. The more so since Herder wrote to Caroline: "Ich lese ihn (i.e. *The Vicar of Wakefield*) wohl schon zum viertenmal,"[14] and also says that he is asking all his friends if they have read it. Herder's associates in Strassburg were few and Jung-Stilling was one of the inner circle.

This assumption lends a new importance to Herder's readings, for Jung-Stilling's first novel, *Heinrich Stillings Jugend* as it was called, was the first important German novel to make use of the pattern of *The Vicar of Wakefield.*[15] Stilling wrote it in 1772 and showed it in 1774 to Goethe, who published it with certain emendations three years later. Stilling's novel gains an added importance if with Freiligrath we regard it as the first German "Dorfgeschichte."

> Ein rechter Spiegel alter Bauerntugend,
> Mit Namen hieß es *Heinrich Stillings Jugend.*
> Das war die erste deutsche Dorfgeschichte.[16]

The general and particular resemblances of Jung-Stilling's novel to Goldsmith's have been pointed out with sufficient detail. Of especial interest is one incident which seems to indicate that Goethe and Jung-Stilling, in their Strassburg days, already saw a resemblance between the Brion and the Primrose family.[17]

In order to reestablish the mood of the past for *Dichtung und Wahrheit* Goethe reread the favorite books of his earlier years. He borrowed from the Weimar library in April, 1811, *The Vicar of Wakefield*[18] and reported that he came back to it "mit unschuldigem Behagen;"[19] and when he settled down twelve months later to record the episodes of the Sesenheim

[13] Goethe, *Werke*, I (27) 340.
[14] See p. 248.
[15] Sophie La Roche had made some use of Goldsmith's example in her *Geschichte des Fräuleins von Sternheim*, 1770, Nicolai a less adroit use in his *Sebaldus Nothanker*, 1773–1776, and Blankenburg in the NBSWFK, XVII 2 (1775) 275 ff. wished that he had borrowed more liberally and to better advantage. Lenz's *Landprediger*, 1777, was an imitation of Nicolai's work rather than of Goldsmith's. *Re* imitations, reviews, and reprints there is scattered information in Sollas [381].
[16] Freiligrath, *Werke*, ed. Schwering, Berlin, 1907, II 31.
[17] See Stecher in Palaestra, CXX (1913) 63 ff. Cf. Price [390] 247.
[18] Von Keudell, *Goethe als Benutzer der Weimarer Bibliothek*, Weimar, 1831, 113.
[19] Goethe, *Werke*, III (36) 73.

idyll he borrowed the work again, this time in German translation[20] and noted:

> Die Darstellung dieses Charakters auf seinem Lebensgange durch Freuden und Leiden, das immer wachsende Interesse der Fabel, durch Verbindung des ganz Natürlichen mit dem Sonderbaren und Seltsamen, macht diesen Roman zu einem der besten, die je geschrieben worden; der noch überdieß den großen Vorzug hat, daß er ganz sittlich, ja im reinen Sinne christlich ist, die Belohnung des guten Willens, des Beharrens bei dem Rechten darstellt, das unbedingte Zutrauen auf Gott bestätigt und den endlichen Triumph des Guten über das Böse beglaubigt, und dieß alles ohne eine Spur von Frömmelei oder Pedantismus. Vor beiden hatte den Verfasser der hohe Sinn bewahrt, der sich hier durchgängig als Ironie zeigt, wodurch dieses Werkchen uns eben so weise als liebenswürdig entgegenkommen muß.[21]

The records show that Goethe borrowed *The Vicar of Wakefield* from the Weimar library again December 20, 1829.[22] Thus it would appear that frequently no copy was at hand in his own library. Yet he certainly possessed one at times. He professed to have read it aloud at Sesenheim,[23] yet in March, 1773, he had to ask Johanna Falmer to send him a copy.[24] *The Vicar of Wakefield* was also one of the first English texts Goethe sent to Frau von Stein, September, 1776. An accompanying letter admonished her: "Lassen Sie sich's wohl seyn und lernen Sie recht viel Englisch."[25] Possibly Goethe was unwisely liberal in giving or lending his private copies of the work to his friends.

Goldsmith's poems also appealed to Goethe and his circle. On March 28, 1771, Herder sent to Caroline two translations from the lyrics in *The Vicar of Wakefield;* the first of these was a rendering of the first two stanzas of the ballad read by Burchell beginning: "Turn, gentle hermit of the vale." Herder translated these merely to give an idea of the melody ("Singeton"). More than that he did not give, "weil sie im Englischen mit zu vielen kleinen Zierrathen überladen ist." The second translation was of Olivia's song beginning: "When lovely woman stoops to folly." In the same letter he speaks of the "Elegie auf den tollen Hund,"[26] a rendering of which he is sending to Merck. All of these translations he published later.[27]

Goethe's interest in Goldsmith's lyrics began a little later. In "The Wanderer," Goldsmith tells of one "impelled with steps unceasing, to pursue some fleeting good."

[20] Von Keudell, 125.
[21] Goethe, *Werke*, I (27) 343.
[22] Von Keudell, 327.
[23] Goethe, *Werke*, I (28) 26.
[24] *Ibid.*, IV (2) 71.
[25] *Ibid.*, IV (3) 103. Cf. 106, 109.
[26] *Herders Briefwechsel*, XXXIX (1926) 645.
[27] *Ibid.*, 458.

Vain, very vain my weary search to find
That bliss which only centres in the mind;
Why have I strayed from pleasure and repose
To seek a good each government bestows.

In his better-known poem, "The Deserted Village," he lets another wanderer tell of his melancholy at seeing the destruction of the home of his youth by the encroachments of an industrial age.

The first of these poems made an impression on Goethe and led him to write in the spring of 1772 a poem, also called "Der Wanderer," in which he develops one detail of Goldsmith's poem, that of the traveler calling at the home of a simple peasant. This poem was dedicated to the Darmstadt saints. It was Merck who called Goethe's attention to "The Deserted Village" and who in 1772 published a reprint thereof, the title page of which bore the note "printed for a friend of the vicar." For some time this was quite naturally but erroneously construed as a dedication to Goethe.[28] An advance copy of the reprint of the poem probably reached Goethe at Wetzlar and there it found favor among his friends. No doubt its social implications were overlooked, for there no one felt the harbingers of the economic revolution, but there remained the atmosphere of poetic melancholy for "selbst der heitere Goldsmith verliert sich in elegische Empfindungen, wenn uns sein 'Deserted Village' ein verlorenes Paradies, das sein traveller aus der ganzen Erde wiedersucht, so lieblich als traurig darstellt."[29] Goethe reported in *Dichtung und Wahrheit:*

Das *Deserted Village* von Goldsmith mußte jedermann auf jener Bildungsstufe, in jenem Gesinnungskreise, höchlich zusagen. Nicht als lebendig oder wirksam, sondern als ein vergangenes, verschwundenes Dasein, ward alles das geschildert, was man so gern mit Augen sah, was man liebte, schätzte, in der Gegenwart leidenschaftlich aufsuchte, um jugendlich munter Theil daran zu nehmen.[30]

The idyllic patriarchal conditions of life, the presence of the pastor—"auch hier fanden wir unsern ehrlichen Wakefield wieder"—all combined to make up just such a poem as the sentimental circle would wish for. Both Goethe and his friend Gotter undertook to translate the poem into German. Goethe reports that Gotter's freer translation was the more successful.[31]

There is much of the idyllic-patriarchal tone of *The Vicar of Wakefield* in *Werther*, the love of children and of simple souls, and a pastor too is not lacking, der Pfarrer von St.——. *The Vicar of Wakefield* was also a favorite work of Lotte. Previously she had been captivated by novels of

[28] Viëtor [389].
[29] Goethe, *Werke*, I (28) 215.
[30] *Ibid.*, I (28) 156.
[31] *Ibid.*, I (28) 157.

a more colorful and thrilling content and had buried herself in such novels as Mme. Riccoboni was wont to write.[32] "Weiß Gott wie wohl mir's war, wenn ich mich Sonntags so in ein Eckchen setzen, und mit ganzem Herzen an dem Glück und Unstern einer Miss Jenny Theil nehmen konnte," but after household duties left her little time for reading, a novel had to be just to her taste;

> Und der Autor ist mir der liebste, in dem ich meine Welt wiederfinde, bei dem he zugeht wie um mich, und dessen Geschichte mir doch so interessant und herzlich wird, als mein eigen häuslich Leben, das freilich kein Paradies, aber doch im Ganzes eine Quelle unsäglicher Glückseligkeit ist.[33]

As an example of such a novel she mentioned to complete Werther's rapture, *The Vicar of Wakefield.*

After Goethe returned to Frankfurt from Wetzlar a narrative poem in *The Vicar of Wakefield* became the starting point for an operetta: "Die Oper *Erwin und Elmire* war aus Goldsmiths liebenswürdiger, im *Landprediger von Wakefield* eingefügter Romanze entstanden, die uns in den besten Zeiten vergnügt hatte, wo wir nicht ahneten, daß uns etwas ähnliches bevorstehe."[34] "Uns" refers to Lili Schönemann and Goethe, who were kept apart by the vanity of the world as were the lovers in Goldsmith's poem and Goethe's operetta.[35]

Goethe's operetta was the sole attractive dramatic work in Germany resultant from *The Vicar of Wakefield.* A lugubrious drama called *Worthy* was written by Benjamin Veitel in 1776. Its five long acts might be called the fifth act of the novel. All scenes are laid in the debtors' prison. The drama was played once in Berlin and twice elsewhere. A "Nachspiel" by Friedrich Eckart, *Der Landprediger,* borrowed several motifs from *The Vicar of Wakefield.* A direct dramatization, *Der Landpriester von Wakefield,* appeared in 1792. The author, F. E. Jester, felt compelled to make many changes for he said: "nach meinen Begriffen darf die Bühne unbedingt Anstand und Sittenschonung fordern." To this end the most tragic element of the novel had to be sacrificed. The drama was played at least once in Hamburg.

It may be noted that adaptations of Goldsmith's dramas were slightly more successful. *She Stoops to Conquer* appeared as *Sie läßt sich herab um zu siegen, oder die Irrthümer einer Nacht,* 1773. The author was A. Witten-

[32] Editors have usually said that Charlotte Buff's "Miss Jenny" was the heroine of the novel *Geschichte der Miss Fanny Wilkes* of Hermes, 1766, but the novel Charlotte Buff refers to was almost certainly Mme. Riccoboni's *Histoire de Miss Jenny Glanville,* Paris, 1764, which had recently been translated into German by Gellius as *Die Geschichte der Miss Jenny;* see Price in GR, VI (1931) 1 ff.

[33] Goethe, *Werke,* I (19) 29.

[34] *Ibid.,* I (29) 160.

[35] Levy [384].

berg. It was played in Hamburg, Hannover, Berlin, Gotha, Cologne, and Mannheim. When Schröder was in charge of the theater in Vienna, he revised it considerably according to his practical formula. He simplified the plot, gave to the characters German names, and transferred the action to Germany. *Irrthümer auf allen Ecken* became a great success in Vienna and thereafter in several northern cities. A later version by M. G. Lambrecht was less successful. Schröder's participants had belonged to the German aristocracy. Lambrecht gave his play a middle-class setting. The idea was no doubt good, but the author had no talent for dialogue and the result was prosy. His play *Er hat sie zum besten oder die Mütterschule*, 1785, found favor neither with the critics nor the public.

Christian Heinrich Schmid, who had said that *She Stoops to Conquer* was quite unworthy of Goldsmith, undertook to translate *The Good-natured Man*. The result was scathingly condemned by Moses Mendelssohn. A better version was made by "Herr Rath Schmidt" of Vienna, on which Schröder chiefly based his production in Hamburg, 1777. There was finally a free and rather successful adaptation of the play toward the end of the century, *Der Universalfreund, oder Gutherzigkeit und Windbeuteley* by G. F. Rebmann, 1796.[36]

The idyllic atmosphere of *The Vicar of Wakefield* is found again in *Hermann und Dorothea*. Goethe's "Prediger" is not unlike the vicar, and their homely moralizings are similar and spoken in similar tone. If Goethe never directly compared the two works, he did so at least by implication. Speaking of Voss's *Luise* in 1831, he said:

> Die großen Verdienste der Darstellung der Lokalität und äußeren Zustände der Personen entzückten mich; jedoch wollte mir erscheinen, daß das Gedicht eines höheren Inhalts entbehre, welche Bemerkung sich mir besonders an solchen Stellen aufdrang, wo die Personen in wechselseitigen Reden ihr Inneres auszusprechen in dem Fall sind. Im 'Vicar of Wakefield' ist auch ein Landprediger mit seiner Familie dargestellt, allein der Poet besaß eine höhere Weltkultur, und so hat sich dieses auch seinen Personen mitgeteilt, die alle ein mannigfaltigeres Innere an den Tag legen.

Goethe found the earlier editions of *Luise* better than the later ones: "Später hat Voß so viel daran gekünstelt und aus technicshen Grillen das Leichte, Natürliche der Verse verdorben." Goethe himself would have done otherwise. "Ich würde Alliterationen, Assonanzen und falsche Reime, alles gebrauchen, wie es mir käme und bequem wäre; aber ich würde auf die Hauptsache losgehen und so gute Dinge zu sagen suchen, daß jeder gereizt werden sollte, es zu lesen und auswendig zu lernen."[37]

Goethe's enthusiasm for Goldsmith proved lasting. To Eckermann

[36] Price [382].
[37] Eckermann, *Gespräche*, 577.

he expressed more than once a high opinion of his work. On December 3, 1824, he said: "Suchen Sie in der Literatur einer so tüchtigen Nation wie die Engländer einen Halt. Zudem ist unsere eigene Literatur größtenteils aus der ihrigen hergekommen. Unsere Romane, unsere Trauerspiele, woher haben wir sie, als von Goldsmith, Fielding und Shakespeare?"[38] and on March 11, 1828:

Wir haben in der Literatur Poeten, die für sehr produktiv gehalten werden, weil von ihnen ein Band Gedichte nach dem andern erschienen ist. Nach meinem Begriff aber sind diese Leute durchaus unproduktiv zu nennen, denn was sie machten, ist ohne Leben und Dauer. Goldsmith dagegen hat so wenige Gedichte gemacht, daß ihre Zahl nicht der Rede wert, allein dennoch muß ich ihn als Poeten für durchaus produktiv erklären, und zwar eben deswegen, weil das Wenige, was er machte, ein inwohnendes Leben hat, das sich zu erhalten weiß.[39]

Still later in life—in his eightieth year—he wrote to Zelter:

In diesen Tagen kam mir von ungefähr der *Landpriester von Wakefield* zu Händen, ich mußte das Werklein vom Anfang bis zum Ende wieder durchlesen, nicht wenig gerührt von der lebhaften Erinnerung, wie viel ich dem Verfasser in den siebziger Jahren schuldig geworden. Es wäre nicht nachzukommen, was Goldsmith und Sterne gerade im Hauptpuncte der Entwicklung auf mich gewirkt haben. Diese hohe wohlwollende Ironie, diese Billigkeit bey aller Übersicht, diese Sanftmuth bey aller Widerwärtigkeit, die Gleichheit bey allem Wechsel und wie alle verwandte Tugenden heißen mögen, erzogen mich aufs löblichste, und am Ende sind es doch diese Gesinnungen, die uns von allen Irrschritten des Lebens endlich wieder zurückführen.[40]

Goethe felt himself "in Übereinstimmung mit jener ironischen Gesinnung die sich über Gegenstände, über Glück und Unglück, Gutes und Böses, Tod und Leben erhebt, und so zum Besitz einer wahrhaft poetischen Welt gelangt."[41]

[38] *Ibid.*, 142.
[39] *Ibid.*, 379.
[40] Goethe, *Werke*, IV (46) 193 f.
[41] *Ibid.*, I (27) 346.

Part Three

SHAKESPEARE IN GERMANY

Chapter XVII

LESSING AND THE RATIONALISTIC CRITICS

In 1729 Voltaire, returning from England, first brought to the continent a definite if slightly distorted impression of Shakespeare. His views were soon known not only to the French but to the learned in Germany. About ten years later, 1740, Shakespeare became a subject of dispute in Germany; by 1770 he was acknowledged as the supreme dramatic poet; through Schlegel's translation, at the end of the century, his dramas were incorporated into German literature, and presently his entry into Germany became the theme of historical essays and detailed investigations. Although "Shakespeare in Germany" is the longest and most intensely studied episode in English-German literary relations, misconceptions still prevail, two of which are particularly tenacious: the first that Lessing was the first German to recognize Shakespeare's genius, and the second that English appreciation of Shakespeare followed tardily in the wake of German interpretation. It is first necessary to dispose of the latter legend.

Despite the fact that the theaters were closed from 1642 to 1660 during the Puritan regime, the period from 1592 to 1693 has rightfully been called "a century of praise."[1] The theatrical tradition of Shakespeare was almost continuous. *Hamlet* was played in 1662 by Betterton, who had his instructions at third hand from Shakespeare himself. The successor to Betterton was Barton Booth (about 1700), and a pupil of his was Anthony Boehme, who gained renown by a new interpretation of the part of King Lear. Garrick did not revive forgotten Shakespearean plays. What he actually did was to supplant the time-worn rendering with a new interpretation that found favor with the public.

Neither was Shakespeare neglected by the scholars during the eighteenth century, and new editions followed in rapid succession—Rowe's in 1709, Pope's in 1725, Theobald's in 1733, Hammer's in 1744, and Johnson's in 1765, all with laudatory prefaces. Of these, Pope's edition played the largest role in German literary history, and Pope's ideas were disseminated not only directly, but also indirectly through Voltaire. German criticism of Shakespeare before Herder's time was largely influenced by Dryden, Voltaire, and Pope, and especially by the moral weeklies of Addison and Steele. In England, France, and Germany it was the problem of the classicists to reconcile their admiration for

[1] Ingleby and Smith, *A Century of Praise, Allusions to Shakespeare, 1597–1693*, now included in Munro, *The Shakespeare Allusion Book*, new ed. 2 vols., London, 1909; see also ShJ, XLVI (1910) 282 f.

Shakespeare with their adherence to the rules of literary orthodoxy, and in this endeavor the English preceded their German colleagues.

In Dryden's *Essay of Dramatick Poesie*, 1668, Eugenius and Crites discuss the question whether the modern dramatists are the equal of the ancient, after which Neander, who obviously expresses Dryden's own opinion, disputes with Lisideius and exalts the English dramatists above the French. Assuming that the English people are a hardier and less-refined race than the French, he asserts that they demand for their entertainment a more vigorous drama. He begins by weighing virtues against faults in the typical manner of the Augustan age:

> I acknowledge that the French contrive their plots more regularly, and observe the laws of comedy, and the decorum of the stage . . . with more exactness than the English; . . . yet, after all, I am of opinion that neither our faults nor their virtues are considerable enough to place them above us. For a lively imitation of nature being in the definition of a play, those which best fulfill that law ought to be esteemed superior to the others. 'Tis true, those beauties of the French poesie are such as will raise perfection higher where it is, but are not sufficient to give it where it is not; they are indeed the beauties of a statue, but not of a man, because not animated with the soul of poesie, which is imitation of humor and passions.

Neander then goes on to show the disadvantage attendant upon a strict adherence to the unities. The simple plot with a central important character is tedious. The English, moreover, unlike the French, want to see strength pitted against strength even in a physical fashion: "Whether custom has so insinuated itself into our countrymen or nature has so formed them to fierceness, I know not; but they will scarcely suffer combats and other objects of horror to be taken away from them." Lessing was to say much the same later of the Germans.[2] Throughout his discourse Neander bases his arguments chiefly on Beaumont and Fletcher, Jonson, and Shakespeare. Toward the conclusion, after doing full justice to the merits of Jonson, he says: "If I would compare him with Shakespeare, I must acknowledge him the more correct poet, but Shakespeare the greater wit. Shakespeare was the Homer, or father of our dramatick poets; Jonson was the Virgil, the pattern of elaborate writing; I admire him, but I love Shakespeare," but piety did not prevent Dryden in his later years from revising Shakespeare's plays according to the taste of the time with such versions as *Troilus and Cressida or Truth Found too Late* and *All for Love or the World Well Lost.*

The second important critic of Shakespeare was Nicholas Rowe, who edited, in 1709, the first complete collection of Shakespeare's dramas, hitherto preserved only in the original quartos and folios. Rowe modern-

[2] Lessing, *Schriften*, VIII 42; letter of February 16, 1759.

ized the spelling and the language, corrected the meter and sought to clarify the obscure passages. All this was done without comment. These corrections were a dubious gain, but the sketch of Shakespeare, which preceded the dramas, was the earliest scholarly account of its kind. Incidentally Rowe quoted some of the laudatory phrases of Dryden and defended Shakespeare against the too violent attacks of Thomas Rymer, a strict classicist.[3]

Pope later expressed regret over the "ten years to comment and translate"[4] and there is no indication that his study of Shakespeare ever influenced him as a poet. In the introduction to his edition of Shakespeare he took up, among other matters, Shakespeare's relation to the classic authors and to the Aristotelian rules as interpreted by the French, and Shakespeare as a painter of characters. In much of his criticism he merely echoed Dryden's words without his enthusiasm. To be sure, he omitted Rowe's defense of Shakespeare, yet but for it he would probably never have said: "To judge therefore of Shakespeare by Aristotle's rules is like trying a man by the laws of one country who acted under those of another."[5] Neither Rowe nor Pope questioned the validity of the rules in the later manner of Herder, but only urged extenuating circumstances. Pope criticized Shakespeare not only in the introduction but in the text with approving asterisks and condemning daggers. To weigh passage against passage was the traditional method of the time. Of the classicists in England, Addison was the most liberal in his praise. He frequently called his reader's attention to Shakespeare by quotations or by eulogistic phrases.

During the previous centuries, as we have seen (chapter ii), Shakespeare's works served Germany as a trove of dramatic material, but his name was almost unknown. During the first four decades of the eighteenth century his name was frequently mentioned by scholars but his works were hardly known even by name. Daniel Morhof in his *Unterricht von der teutschen Sprache,* 1682, had recorded: "Der John Dryden hat gar wohl gelehrt von der Dramatiä Poesie geschrieben. Die Engelländer, die er hierinnen anführt, sind Shakespeare, Fletcher, Beaumont, von welchen ich nichts gesehen habe." Feind's *Gedanken von der Opera,* 1708, had reported: "M. le Chevalier Temple in seinem *Essai de la Poésie* erzählet, daß etliche, wenn sie des renommierten Englischen Tragici Shakespear Trauerspiele verlesen hören, offt lautes Halses an zu schreyen

[3] Rymer was the author of *The Tragedies of the Last Age, Considered and Examined by the Practice of the Ancients and the Common-sense of all Ages,* 1678, and *A Short View of Tragedy,* 1692.

[4] Pope, *Dunciad,* III 332 and IV 184. The translation of Homer is here referred to.

[5] Cf. Nichol Smith, *Eighteenth Century Essays on Shakespeare,* Glasgow, 1903, 150.

gefangen und häuffige Thränen vergossen," and Mencke in his *Compendiöses Gelehrten-Lexikon,* as late as 1715, had disposed of Shakespeare in a paragraph:

Shakespeare (Wilh.) ein englischer Dramaticus, geboren zu Stratford 1564, war schlecht auferzogen und verstund kein Latein, jedoch brachte er es in der Poesie sehr hoch. Er hatte ein scherzhafftes Gemüthe, kunte aber doch auch sehr ernsthafft seyn, und excellirte in Tragödien. Er hatte viel sinnreiche und subtile Streitigkeiten mit Ben Jonson, wiewohl keiner von Beyden viel damit gewann. Er starb zu Stratford 1616, 23 April im 53. Jahre. Seine Schau- und Trauer-Spiele, deren er sehr viel geschrieben, sind in VI Theilen 1709 zu London zusammen gedruckt und werden sehr hoch gehalten.

This item sums up the German knowledge of Shakespeare in 1715, much of which was derived from Thomas Fuller's *History of the Worthies of England,*[6] 1662, but further information was on its way. In 1714–1726 appeared in Amsterdam in six volumes *Le Spectateur ou le Socrate moderne,* "traduit de l'Anglois." It was not a complete translation and consequently many of the passages referring to Shakespeare were omitted, but even from those included in volumes i and ii, 1714–1716, the reader could derive a better-rounded-out picture of Shakespeare which has been recently summarized as follows:

Shakespeare war ein berufener ("fameux") englischer Dramatiker, der zur Zeit des Königs Jakob I., also im ersten Viertel des 17. Jahrhunderts wirkte, dessen Bühnenstücke noch immer eine lebendige Bühnenwirkung erzielen, ein Genie erster Ordnung, das all seine große Kunst allein seiner natürlichen Anlage verdankt und seine Tragödien und Komödien ohne die intellektuell ordnende Kraft eines Regelprinzips erschafft und daher, in der Fabel und in der kompositorischen Gesamtanlage, bei aller bewundernswerten Gestaltung der Einzelszenen, die dramatische Regelsatzung außer acht läßt, ein Meister der psychologischen Durchdringung, der es versteht, seine Personen in wenigen Zeilen zu charakterisieren. Seine Motive sind erregend: *Hamlet* stofflich an die Orestie erinnernd, eine Tragödie von antikischer Größe und Erschütterung, bringt eine meisterhafte Geisterszene, *Macbeth* die Ermordung eines edlen Fürsten durch einen Schurken und die menschliche und göttliche Rache an dem Mörder. Eine der Shakespeareschen Eigenarten ist die Vorliebe für das Wortspiel, das in merkwürdigem Widerspruch zu der inneren Situation steht. Die metrische Form seiner Dramen ist der Blankvers, der—sehr unscharf—allein durch das Fehlen des Reimes charakterisiert wird.[7]

In 1717 furthermore there appeared in the *Journal Littéraire* of The Hague a "Dissertation sur la poésie anglois" which included an extensive discussion of Shakespeare's dramatic art along with detailed criticism of *Hamlet, Henry VI,* and *Othello.* Both the *Spectateur* and the "Dissertation" were widely read in Germany. The *Spectateur* passed through

[6] Robertson [762].
[7] Schreinert [773] 145 f.

many editions, both "rechtmäßig" and pirated. The first bibliographically recorded translation, purportedly from the English but in fact from the French, was published in Nuremberg in three volumes 1719–1725. It is not generally known that this poor translation was preceded by an excellent version which appeared serially in Anton Paullini's *Curieuses Bücher- und Staats-Cabinet*, Halle, 1716–1718.[8]

The works of Shakespeare were almost nonexistent at the time in Germany. Among the numerous English works in the extensive library of Richey in Hamburg there was no volume of Shakespeare's works. In the Bücherverzeichnis of J. H. Fabricius (20,000 volumes) there was noted a copy of *Othello*, but the Leipzig "Bibliotheca Menckiana," 1723, included *The Works of Shakespeare*, 1700.[9]

Additional knowledge awaited the return of Voltaire from his visit to England, 1726–1729, and of the Abbé Prévost shortly after. In his "Discours sur la tragédie," prefacing his *Brutus*, 1731, Voltaire referred to the English tragedies as "pièces monstrueuses" containing "des scènes admirables;"[10] in the second edition of his "Essai sur la poésie épique," 1733, he called Shakespeare a "génie d'invention;" "il se fait une route où personne n'a marché avant lui, il court sans guide, sans règle, il s'égare dans sa carrière, mais il laisse loin derrière lui tout ce qui n'est que raison et exactitude."[11] It is tempting to compare this description of Shakespeare with the curtain for the new theater in Leipzig which Oeser painted under Goethe's observation while Goethe was a student there, and Goethe's later, perhaps slightly misleading description of it in *Dichtung und Wahrheit*.[12]

In the eighteenth of the *Lettres philosophiques*, 1734, "Sur la tragédie," Voltaire said: "La plupart des idées bizarres et gigantesques de cet auteur ont acquis au bout de deux cent ans le droit de passer pour sublimes."[13] In the course of these discussions he gave indications of the content of *Julius Caesar*, *Hamlet*, and *Othello*, together with some criticism of them, and some fragmentary translations. It was also well known that Voltaire had imitated Shakespeare in several of his dramas.

What the Abbé Prévost had to say regarding Shakespeare in his journal *Le Pour et contre*, 1733, was in no wise at variance with Voltaire's views. The only difference is that he laid more stress on the beauties of Shakespeare's works than on their extravagances. Here it is to be noted that Voltaire, while in England, had conversed with Bolingbroke, Chesterfield, and Pope, while the Abbé Prévost, lacking such connections, echoed rather the opinions of Addison, Rowe, and other editors. Martin

[8] *Ibid.*, 147 f.
[9] *Ibid.*, 129 f.
[10] Voltaire, *Oeuvres*, II 314.
[11] *Ibid.*, VIII, 318.
[12] Cf. Price [822].
[13] Voltaire, *Oeuvres*, XXII 149.

Sherlock, visiting the continent as late as 1778–1779, elicited from many critics their views of Shakespeare and found them all of a like opinion, based on identical scenes. Not until he returned to England and read the comments of Voltaire, did he discover that Voltaire's opinions were the source for all.[14]

About 1740 Shakespeare came prominently under discussion in both the Zürich and Leipzig circles. In the preface to his *Critische Abhandlung von dem Wunderbaren in der Poesie* 1740, Bodmer had said incidentally:

> Sie [die Deutschen] sind noch in dem Zustand, in welchem die Engelländer viele Jahre gestanden, eh ihnen geschickte Kunstrichter die Schönheiten in Miltons Gedichte nach und nach wahrzunehmen gegeben und sie damit bekannt gemacht hatten, ungeachtet diese Nation an ihrem Saspar und anderen den Geschmack zu diesem höhern und feinern Ergetzen zu schärfen eine Gelegenheit gehabt hatte, der unsere Nation beinahe beraubt ist.[15]

This assertion documents Bodmer's knowledge of the English "Kunstrichter," probably Addison and Steele, but not convincingly of Shakespeare's plays. However, we know that Zellweger near the beginning of 1724 sent to Bodmer some part of Shakespeare's works, and that Bodmer, shortly after the completion of his translation of *Paradise Lost*, wrote a dramatic work "Marc Anton und Kleopatra Verliebung" and sent it to König hoping for a production in Dresden. It was returned as unsuitable, because it could not be set to music and also on account of its verse measure, "[weil] sie gar keinen Abschnitt in ihren fünffüßigen Versen beobachtet, auch die Reime darin weggelassen;" in other words, because of its blank verse, and this fifteen years before the publication of Borcke's *Julius Caesar* translation in Alexandrines.[16]

Frau Gottsched began at the same time unwittingly to undermine the authority of her lord and master by translating the *Spectator* papers into German, thus commending Shakespeare to the large public which could not read the work in English or even in the incomplete French translation of 1719. In the *Spectator*, it is true, we find merely passing references to Shakespeare and no formal discussions as of Milton, yet the thirty-five or more references[17] are so insistent that they make an impression.

[14] Van Tieghem [770] 59 and 19.

[15] The form "Saspar" has been variously explained: as a phonetic rendition of the name as Bodmer pronounced it (Vetter) [214]; and, more plausibly, as a reproduction of the spelling by the Italian critic Conti, whose views Bodmer had been reading recently (Robertson) [762]. Becker [777] rediscovered for himself the facts which Robertson had already presented.

[16] Schreinert [773] 139 f.

[17] For list see Richter [765] or Price [17] 266.

The critical debate regarding Shakespeare was actually precipitated, however, by the first translation of a Shakespearean drama into German: *Versuch einer gebundenen Übersetzung des Trauer-Spiels von dem Tode des Julius Cäsar aus den englischen Wercken des Shakespeare*, Berlin, 1741, by Caspar Wilhelm von Borcke, who had been Prussian ambassador to England, 1726–1728, and again in 1733, and had probably witnessed the same Shakespearean productions as Voltaire.[18] That prose and verse alike are trussed into the conventional straight jacket of rhymed Alexandrines implies no blind adherence to the dramatic scruples of the French. The translation itself affronted many. It appeared, as Borcke says in the preface, "nackt und bloß, ohne Beschirmung und ohne Verteidigung. Ein jeder mag davon urteilen, was ihm beliebt; genug, daß der Verfasser seinen Zweck erhalten."

The translation was commented upon in several quarters. In his *Critische Beyträge* Gottsched wrote:

> Man bringt ohne Unterschied Gutes und Böses in unsere Sprache: gerade . . . als ob wir nicht selbst schon bessere Sachen aus den eigenen Köpfen unserer Landsleute aufzuweisen hätten. Die elendeste Haupt- und Staatsaktion unserer gemeinen Comödianten ist kaum so voll Schnitzer und Fehler wider die Regeln der Schaubühne und gesunden Vernunft als dieses Stück Shackespeares ist.[19]

In the next number of the *Beyträge* appeared the first extensive treatise on Shakespeare in Germany: Johann Elias Schlegel's *Vergleich Shakespeares und Andreas Gryphs*. Schlegel was at pains to reconcile the strong impression Shakespeare had made upon him with the poet's ignorance of the rules. He asserts that Gryphius's works were imitations of actions, while Shakespeare's were characterizations. Gryphius's dramas were thus admittedly more correct, for Aristotle ruled that imitation of action was all important, but, in recognizing the existence of a character tragedy, Schlegel acknowledged a realm for which Aristotle had not laid down definite rules. Schlegel claimed for Shakespeare the sanction of the *Spectator:* "Die Engelländer haben schon durch viele Jahre den Shakespear für einen großen Geist gehalten, und die scharfsichtigsten unter ihnen, worunter sich auch der Zuschauer befindet, haben ihm diesen Ruhm zugestehen müssen."[20] Like Addison and Pope, Schlegel assumed that the rules must be recognized but found that the "Fehler" were partly made up for by the "Tugenden." In 1741 Schlegel was still regarded as a reliable adherent by Gottsched, who had probably commissioned him to write the review, little foreseeing the outcome. Gottsched published Schlegel's essay, though no doubt with reluctance, but he felt compelled

[18] Wolff [779] 396.
[19] *Loc. cit.*, VII (1741) 516 ff.
[20] *Ibid.*, VII (1741) Stück 27. Cf. Bibliography [708] 77.

to make a reply. The reference to the *Spectator* caused him the greatest distress. The passage reads:

I have a great esteem for a true critic, such as Aristotle and Longinus among the Greeks, Horace and Quintilian among the Romans, Boileau and Dacier among the French. But it is our misfortune, that some who set up for professed critics among us criticize upon old authors only at second hand. . . . They judge of them by what others have written, not by any notions they have of the authors themselves. The words, unity, action, sentiment, and diction, pronounced with an air of authority, give them a figure among unlearned readers, who are apt to believe they are deep because they are unintelligible. . . . Our inimitable Shakespeare is a stumbling block to the whole tribe of these rigid critics. Who would not rather read one of his plays, where there is not a single rule of art observed, than any production of a modern critic where there is not one of them violated?

Gottsched was loath to believe that his number was written by Addison or Steele and maintained "daß alles, was die Feinde der strengen theatralischen Regeln darinnen zu ihrem Vortheile finden möchten, ungereimt und falsch sey." Referring to the attack upon the "rigid" critics, he retorted:

Dieß klingt nun recht hoch, und wer von Shakespears Sachen nichts gelesen hat, der sollte fast denken; es müßte doch wohl recht was schönes seyn, welches den Abgang aller Regeln so leichtlich ersetzen kann. Allein man irret sehr. Die Unordnung und Unwahrscheinlichkeit, welch aus dieser Hindansetzung der Regeln entspringen, die sind auch bey dem Shakespear so handgreiflich und ekelhaft, daß wohl niemand, der nur je etwas vernünftiges gelesen, daran ein Belieben tragen wird.

Coming then to the discussion of the play in question Gottsched wrote:

Sein *Julius Cäsar*, der noch dazu von den meisten für sein bestes Stück gehalten wird, hat so viel niederträchtiges an sich, daß ihn kein Mensch ohne Ekel lesen kann. Er wirft darinnen alles unter einander. Bald kommen die läppischten Auftritte von Handwerkern und Pöbel, die wohl gar mit Schurken und Schlüngeln um sich schmeißen und tausend Possen machen, bald wiederum die größten römischen Helden, die von den wichtigsten Staatsgeschäfften reden. . . . Die Zeit ist so schön darinnen beobachtet worden, daß dieß Schauspiel mit der Verschwörung wider den Cäsar anfängt und mit der pharsalischen Schlacht aufhöret.[21]

These strictures convince the reader that Gottsched had read *Julius Caesar* in Borcke's translation but not that he had read any other Shakespearean dramas. The criticism of *Julius Caesar* seems to consist chiefly of echoes of Voltaire who had written of the English tragedies (*Lettres sur les Anglois*, XVIII) that Shakespeare's tragedies were still produced on the London stage without purification: "on a laissé dans le *Jules César* . . . les plaisanderies des cordonniers et des romains." In his "Observations sur le *Jules César* de Shakespeare" furthermore Voltaire

[21] *Ibid.*, VIII (1742) 143 ff. Cf. *Spectator*, no. 592.

had called attention to the unpermissible span of time within the play, extending from the time of the plot against Caesar's life to the battle of Pharsalia and the suicides of Cassius and Brutus.

Thus during 1740–1742 Shakespeare was prominently under discussion with Bodmer, Frau Gottsched, Borcke, Schlegel, and Gottsched taking part, and the *Spectator* playing a leading role in the discussion. The *Spectator* was the original inspiration of Bodmer's assertion and *Julius Caesar* was the subject of contention between Gottsched and Schlegel. For a time Gottsched seemed to have prevailed, although the Swiss critics could not refrain from an occasional sly reference to Addison's "whole tribe of rigid critics."

After a few years of comparative silence, the appearance of Frau Gottsched's translation of *The Guardian*, 1749, gave a new impetus to the interest in Shakespeare, containing, as it did, many comments on Shakespeare hitherto unknown in Germany. A reference to the peasant play in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* in number 118 led Frau Gottsched to compare Gryphius's *Peter Squenz* with the original and to observe in a footnote that Shakespeare's piece "ein sehr angenehmes Stück ist."

Lessing's interest in Shakespeare began shortly after this. In regard to his observations two main questions arise: How original was he in his criticism and how conclusive is the theory he developed? More precisely, to what extent did he follow the criticism of Dryden, Pope, Addison, Voltaire, and Johann Elias Schlegel, and does he, in the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, seek to evade the difficult task of reconciling Shakespeare with Aristotle?

Lessing's earliest reference to Shakespeare is in the introduction to the *Beyträge zur Historie und Aufnahme des Theaters*, 1750.[22] The title of this collection has been brought into connection with Bodmer's *Critische Betrachtungen und freye Untersuchungen zum Aufnehmen und zur Verbesserung der deutschen Schaubühne*, 1743.[23] The suggestion that Lessing's title is related rather to Johann Elias Schlegel's essay *Gedanken zur Aufnahme des dänischen Theaters*[24] gains plausibility when one considers the similarity of purpose of the two works. To be sure the *Gedanken* were not published until 1764, but they were completed in 1747, and a copy was sent to Lessing's friend Johann Adolf Schlegel in Leipzig in 1747. It can be shown that Lessing was probably familiar with the content of Schlegel's essays on the drama before their publication, despite the contrary assumption of Antoniewicz and of Schlegel's biographer, Eugen Wolff, and their successors. Strong internal evidence supports such a hypothe-

[22] Lessing, *Schriften*, IV 52.
[23] Robertson [269] 95, fn. 3.
[24] Borden [914].

sis.[25] There are many close verbal parallels between Lessing's and Schlegel's pronouncements on the subject of the national drama.

In his *Gedanken* Schlegel had asserted "daß ein Theater, welches gefallen soll, nach den besonderen Sitten, und nach der Gemüthsbeschaffenheit einer Nation eingerichtet seyn muß,"[26] and had accompanied this assertion with a detailed study of the character of the English and French as shown by their taste in plays. He concluded that "in den nördlichen Ländern, Deutschland mitgerechnet"[27] the sentiment of love must not predominate so heavily as on the French stage, and that the more violent passions must have freer room for expression.

In the introduction to the *Beyträge*, written October, 1749, Lessing lists almost the same English dramatists that Voltaire had discussed in his letters, and he generalizes on them in much the same way:[28] "Diese sind alle Männer, die zwar ebenso große Fehler als Schönheiten haben, von denen aber ein vernünftiger Nachahmer sich sehr vieles zu Nutze machen kann." At the same time he condemns Gottsched's attempts to pattern the German drama solely after the French:

> Dadurch hat man aber unser Theater zu einer Einförmigkeit gebracht, die man auf alle mögliche Art zu vermeiden sich hätte bestreben sollen. . . . Shakespeare, Dryden, Wicherley [sic], Vanbrugh, Cibber, Congreve sind Dichter, die man fast bey uns nur dem Namen nach kennet, und gleichwohl verdienen sie unsere Hochachtung sowohl als die gepriesenen französischen Dichter.[29]

This is preceded by the declaration: "Das ist gewiß, wollte der Deutsche in der dramatischen Poesie seinem eigenen Naturelle folgen, so würde unsre Schaubühne mehr der englischen als französischen gleichen."[30]

In the preface to his *Schriften* III and IV, 1754, Lessing returns to the subject of the theater and regrets the dearth of dramatic literature in Germany. He asks:

> Wie kommt es, daß nur hier die deutsche Nacheiferung zurückbleibt? Sollte wohl die Art selbst, wie man unsre Bühne hat verbessern wollen, daran schuld seyn? Sollte wohl die Menge von Meisterstücken, die man auf einmal, besonders den Franzosen abborgte, unsere ursprünglichen Dichter niedergeschlagen haben?[31]

Meanwhile the controversy about the stage was becoming keener in Leipzig and new authorities were being dragged into the discussion. In

[25] Antoniewicz [913], Eugen Wolff, *Johann Elias Schlegel*, Berlin, 1889. Borden [914].
[26] J. E. Schlegel, *Werke*, ed. J. H. Schlegel, Kopenhagen and Leipzig, 1761 ff., III 215.
[27] *Ibid.*, III 106.
[28] Cf. Schmidt [255]² I 116 and Baumgartner [360] 33.
[29] Lessing, *Schriften*, IV 52; the preface signed "die Verfasser" and dated October 1749, was written by Lessing.
[30] *Ibid.*, IV 50, 52.
[31] *Ibid.*, V 270.

1752 Koch and his company played Weisse's new translation of Coffey's operetta, *The Devil to Pay* (*Der Teufel ist los*),[32] in spite of the opposition of Gottsched, who had hitherto controlled theatrical affairs in Leipzig. Translations of similar irregular and nonsensical plays were appearing everywhere. So Gottsched, in one of his journals, attacked all English plays, because of the depraving effect they had upon the German taste.[33] In the bitter controversy which arose Lessing took no active part, but reviewing it in 1758 he repeats his earlier thought "daß es vielleicht nicht allzuwohl gethan sey, wenn wir unsre Bühne, die noch in der Bildung ist, auf das Einfache des französischen Geschmacks einschränken wollen."[34]

It chanced that Boccage, a French critic, had published the previous year a partial French translation of Dryden's essay in his *Lettres sur le théâtre anglais*, namely that part of it in which Lisideius vaunted the superior merits of the French drama, but Boccage had arbitrarily excluded Neander-Dryden's refutations. Gottsched eagerly seized the opportunity to translate Boccage's partial translation into German.[35] It seems highly probable that Lessing was led back from Gottsched to Dryden, for in 1759 he published an almost complete translation of the *Essay of Dramatick Poesie* in the *Theatralische Bibliothek*. The stamp of Dryden is already evident in his "Vorrede" to *Des Herrn Jakob Thomsons Trauerspiele*, 1756. Like Neander-Dryden, Lessing is ready to admit the chief contention of Lisideius, that the French plays adhered to the unities: "Die Handlung ist heroisch, sie ist einfach, sie ist ganz, sie streitet weder mit der Einheit der Zeit, noch mit der Einheit des Orts; jede der Personen hat ihren besonderen Charakter; jede spricht ihrem besonderen Charakter gemäß." But this, he says, is not enough, and here he agrees with Neander:

> Aber du, der du diese Wunder geleistet, darfst du dich nunmehr rühmen, ein Trauerspiel gemacht zu haben? Ja, aber nicht anders, als sich der, der eine menschliche Bildseule gemacht hat, rühmen kann, einen Menschen gemacht zu haben. Seine Bildseule ist ein Mensch, und es fehlt ihr nur eine Kleinigkeit; die Seele.[36]

The author, alas, has neglected the primary rule of tragic composition, the rule that the heart of the spectator must be touched. Lessing here borrows a phrase from Neander-Dryden, who had said that the beauties of the French drama were "the beauties of a statue but not of a man, because not animated with the soul of Poesie, which is imitation of

[32] An earlier translation by Buschmann, 1742, had been played with success by the Schoenemann troupe.
[33] *Das Neueste aus der anmuthigen Gelehrsamkeit*, III (1753) 128.
[34] Lessing, *Schriften*, V 185.
[35] *Das Neueste aus der anmuthigen Gelehrsamkeit*, III (1753) 212 ff.
[36] Lessing, *Schriften*, VII 68.

humor and passions."[37] Thomson, he says, possesses the magic art of showing the birth, development, and releasing of a passion, an art which neither Aristotle nor Corneille could teach him, although the latter possessed it himself. He retains the same figure when he says:

> So wie ich unendlich lieber den allerungestaltesten Menschen, mit krummen Beinen, mit Buckeln hinten und vorne, erschaffen, als die schönste Bildseule eines Praxiteles gemacht haben wollte: so wollte ich auch unendlich lieber der Urheber des *Kaufmanns von London*, als des *Sterbenden Cato* seyn.[38]

With a little less modesty Lessing might have substituted for *Der Kaufmann von London* his own recently completed *Miss Sara Sampson* which, in the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, he also described as "bucklicht."[39]

Later, 1759, in the sixteenth *Literaturbrief*, Lessing takes Gottsched severely to task for his omissions and errors in his *Nöthiger Vorrath zur Geschichte der deutschen dramatischen Dichtkunst.* Gottsched, who knew all about Hans Sachs, Hans Rosenblüt, and Peter Probst, was unable even to give a correct report regarding the plays of Johann Elias Schlegel, "der doch bis itzt dem deutschen Theater die meiste Ehre macht."[40]

Lessing begins the seventeenth *Literaturbrief*, February 16, 1759, by quoting the words of the *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und freyen Künste:* "Niemand . . . wird leugnen, daß die deutsche Schaubühne einen großen Theil ihrer ersten Verbesserung dem Herrn Professor Gottsched zu danken habe." Lessing retorts: "Ich bin dieser Niemand: ich leugne es gerade zu," and then launches into an attack upon Gottsched's method:

> Es wäre zu wünschen, daß sich Herr Gottsched niemals mit dem Theater vermengt hätte. . . . Er hätte aus unsern alten dramatischen Stücken, welche er vertrieb, hinlänglich abmerken können, daß wir mehr in den Geschmack der Engländer, als der Franzosen einschlagen; daß wir in unsern Trauerspielen mehr sehen und denken wollen, als uns das furchtsame französische Trauerspiel zu sehen und zu denken giebt; daß das Große, das Schreckliche, das Melancholische besser auf uns wirkt als das Artige, das Zärtliche, das Verliebte; daß uns die zu große Einfalt mehr ermüde als die zu große Verwickelung. Er hätte also auf dieser Spur bleiben sollen, und sie würde ihn geraden Weges auf das englische Theater geführet haben.[41]

It will be admitted that this declaration follows closely the pattern of Johann Elias Schlegel's observations regarding national character and national drama, and the reference to Schlegel in the previous letter, as has been recently pointed out, makes the similarity the more significant.[42] It must be added, that it also parallels closely an observation of Dryden,

[37] See p. 218, above.
[38] Lessing, *Schriften*, V 269.
[39] *Ibid.*, IX 241.
[40] *Ibid.*, VIII 40.
[41] *Ibid.*, VIII 41.
[42] Borden [914].

which has already been quoted,[43] and that such comments were by this time prevalent and can be found in Voltaire, Shaftesbury, Addison, and others.

Lessing next accuses Gottsched of ignorance of Shakespeare, asserts the greater power of Shakespeare to stir his readers and inspire later dramatists, and finally states his main thesis:

> Auch nach den Mustern der Alten die Sache zu entscheiden, ist Shakespeare ein weit größerer tragischer Dichter als Corneille, obgleich dieser die Alten sehr wohl, und jener fast gar nicht gekannt hat. Corneille kommt ihnen in der mechanischen Einrichtung, und Shakespeare in dem Wesentlichen näher. Der Engländer erreicht den Zweck der Tragödie fast immer, so sonderbare und ihm eigene Wege er auch wählet; und der Franzose erreicht ihn fast niemals, ob er gleich die gebahnten Wege der Alten betritt.[44]

It is evident that this thesis introduces no new method of criticism but merely a new application. Lessing agreed that the rules of Aristotle permitted of no exception, but while previous rationalists had contented themselves with the concession that Shakespeare was great in spite of his irregularities, Lessing asserted that he actually observed the laws in their essentials. Of the two defenses Lessing's was by far the more difficult to maintain, as he was soon to discover.

That Lessing's seventeenth *Literaturbrief* stands in direct relation to his translation of Dryden's *Essay of Dramatick Poesie* is recognized.[45] It follows it closely not only in time but in method. Lessing offers the same arguments as Dryden in support of the English drama, commends the same English dramatists, namely Beaumont and Fletcher, Ben Jonson, and Shakespeare, and contends that German taste resembles the English rather than the French in just those particulars that Dryden had emphasized. The seventeenth *Literaturbrief* signalizes the fact, that Dryden and Johann Elias Schlegel have taken a place in Lessing's mind beside Voltaire as chief authorities on Shakespeare, but is far from adequate proof that Lessing knew Shakespeare in 1759 as well as, let us say, Mendelssohn.[46] In the subsequent *Literaturbriefe* he scarcely mentions Shakespeare.[47]

From 1760 to 1765 Lessing's services as secretary to General Tauentzien distracted him from the theory of the drama. On February 1, 1767, before taking up his new function at the Hamburg theater, he wrote to Gleim, referring to his "erloschene Liebe zum Theater." Hence the

[43] See p. 218, above.
[44] Lessing, *Schriften*, VIII 42 f.
[45] Schmidt [255]² I 383; Böhtlingk [872] 53 ff.; Kettner [871] 272 calls attention to Warton's *Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope* in this connection.
[46] Richter [765] II 5–10.
[47] Cf. Briefe 51 and 103, Lessing, *Schriften*, VIII 145–230.

heraldic note in the seventeenth *Literaturbrief* is somewhat muted in the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*. This is the more remarkable when it is remembered that Young's *Conjectures on Original Composition*, which had appeared the same year as Lessing's famous letter, had meanwhile been translated and frequently commented upon. Shakespeare was now being studied in several quarters. Gerstenberg's *Schleswigsche Literaturbriefe*, 1766–1770, had begun to appear; Herder had read *Hamlet* under Hamann's tutelage in Königsberg, and Wieland had translated twenty-two of Shakespeare's dramas, 1762–1766.

Shakespeare is mentioned in at least eleven numbers of the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*. Three references are of especial importance: the one in the eleventh and twelfth numbers, which compares the ghost of *Hamlet* with Voltaire's improbable ghost in *Semiramis;* the one in the fifteenth, which designates love as the theme of *Romeo and Juliet* and sentiment as the theme of Voltaire's *Zaire;* and the controversial one in the seventy-third, which compares Weisse's Richard III with Shakespeare's. In *Laokoon*, chapter xxiii, Lessing returns to the subject of Richard's character.[48] Elsewhere in his works Lessing refers to *Julius Caesar*, *King Lear*, and *Othello*. The comedies are mentioned only in passing.[49] Commenting on the paucity of these references Kettner says:

> Auch in der Dramaturgie hat er die Gelegenheit, ja die Notwendigkeit, auf einzelne Dramen tiefer einzugehen, mehr gemieden als benutzt. Er, der einem so unbedeutenden Drama wie Banks' *Essex* volle sieben Nummern widmet, findet keine Zeit, auch nur eine der großen Tragödien Shakespeares, so wie sie vor seinem Geiste stand, den Lesern nahe zu bringen, und im Zusammenhang zu besprechen. Er begnügt sich durchweg mit gelegentlichen Hinweisen. Meist betreffen sie nur Einzelheiten; wo sie aber an größere Fragen, wie z. B. die Komposition und die Tragik, rühren, da werden sie abgebrochen, ehe die Erörterung zu einem klaren Abschluß gebracht ist.[50]

Meisnest says in this connection that Lessing's purpose was to enthrone Aristotle, not Shakespeare and to dethrone Voltaire, Corneille, and Racine.[51] Robertson finds the stress laid on Voltaire.[52] He maintains, in fact, that Lessing did not resume his earlier studies in Aristotle until 1768 when his work on the *Dramaturgie* was approaching conclusion. He points out that more than once when he arrives at a really critical question regarding Aristotle he postpones it, promising a more extensive treatment in a commentary on Aristotle which was never completed.[53]

[48] Lessing, *Schriften*, XVII 228.
[49] The other references are in *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* nos. 5, 7, 12, 59, 74, 80, 81, 93. Cf. Schmidt [255]² I 597 and Meisnest [870].
[50] Kettner [871] 290 f.
[51] Meisnest [870] 240, 241.
[52] Robertson in MLR, XIV (1914) 85.
[53] Robertson [269] 337.

Gundolf agrees approximately with Robertson. Lessing found Shakespeare, he says, because he needed him as a counter model to the masters of the pseudo-classic school of the French and Gottsched. Having found him he felt compelled to reconcile him with Aristotle. Breaches had to be made in the wall of rationalism from within, and this he accomplished by a reconsideration of the Aristotelian rules. "Er hat gelehrt wie Regeln entstehen, wo man bisher nur Regeln befolgen gelehrt hatte."[54]

Die Entdeckung Shakespeares durch die Schweizer war zunächst ein Zufall, von der durch Lessing unterschieden wie die erste Entdeckung Amerikas durch verschlagene Seefahrer vom planmäßigen Zug des Kolumbus. Wie Kolumbus auszog, um das altersehnte Indien zu suchen, und einen neuen Weltteil fand, so ging es Lessing. Er zog aus, um einen vernünftigen Dichter, um die wahre Theatervernunft zu entdecken, und fand einen neuen Komplex von Leben—und wie Kolumbus starb er, ohne die ganze Tragweite seiner Entdeckung zu ahnen.[55]

A hiatus seems to occur in Lessing's discussion in the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, nos. 73–74. Lessing refers here to Weisse's statement that he had not read Shakespeare's *Richard III* until he had completed his own *Richard der Dritte*,[56] and he wishes that Weisse had read and pondered. Of Weisse's Richard, Lessing says:

Aristotle würde ihn schlechterdings verworfen haben. . . . Die Tragödie . . . soll Mitleid und Schrecken erregen: und daraus folgert er, daß der Held derselben weder ein ganz tugendhafter Mann, noch ein völliger Bösewicht seyn müsse. Denn weder mit des einen noch mit des andern Unglücke, lasse sich jener Zweck erreichen. . . . Richard der Dritte, so wie ihn Herr Weiß [sic] geschildert hat, ist unstreitig das größte, abscheulichste Ungeheuer, das jemals die Bühne getragen. . . . Was für Mitleid kann der Untergang dieses Ungeheuers erwecken?[57]

Lessing makes no attempt at this point to distinguish between the villainy of Shakespeare's Richard and Weisse's. Witkowski believes that Lessing wished to evade the issue.[58] Robertson believes that Lessing had chosen neither horn of the dilemma. Walzel assumes that, to our distress, he merely failed to make clear an obvious distinction:

Wer das Stück Weißes nicht kennt, könnte geneigt sein, alles, was Lessing hier über Weißes Richard sagt, auch für Shakespeares Richard tauglich zu finden . . . Ein paar Blicke in das Drama Weißes erweisen freilich, welch unshakespearischen Popanz Weiße aus Richard gemacht hat. Lessing setzte offenbar Kenntnis von Weißes Stück,

[54] Gundolf [652] 125.
[55] *Ibid.*, 106.
[56] The sources of Weisse's tragedy were a fragmentary translation in the *Neue Erweiterung*, Rapin de Thoyras *Histoire d'Angleterre*, Cibber's stage version of *Richard III* and Shakespeare's tragedy. These have all been discussed by Minor, *Christian Felix Weisse* . . ., 1880, Meisnest [943], Hüttemann [934], and by Wilkie [293] whose chronology is an improvement over Hüttemann's.
[57] Lessing, *Schriften*, X 97 f.
[58] See p. 233, below.

aber auch von Shakespeares Tragödie voraus, verschwieg deshalb, was eine irrige Deutung verhindert hätte. . . . Kaum begreiflich ist, warum Lessing mit keiner Silbe verrät, wie weit die Ausdrücke, die er für Weißes Richard verwendet, nicht für den Helden Shakespeares gelten.[59]

To be sure, Weisse's Richard III is a more inconceivable monster than Shakespeare's, but in order to prove Lessing consistent at this point one must demonstrate either that Shakespeare's Richard was not a perfect villain, that is, "an unmixed character," in the Aristotelian sense, or else that his "tragedy" was not a tragedy in the Aristotelian sense. The first of these alternatives apparently must be excluded. In chapter xxiii of *Laokoon,* Lessing speaks of Edmund the Bastard in *King Lear* and of Richard III as two villains, but he prefers the latter as being the more perfect specimen. When Edmund speaks Lessing hears a devil but sees him in the form of an angel of light, but when he hears the Duke of Gloucester say: "I am determined to prove a villain," he hears a devil and sees a devil in a devil's proper form.[60]

By implication Lessing chose the second alternative. He indicates that he would have been willing to condone certain faults of Weisse's *Richard der Dritte,* had it been a dramatic poem rather than a tragedy, for Weisse's work has its merits, but it is not enough that the work of a poet have effective qualities ("Wirkungen"), "es muß auch die haben, die ihm, vermöge der Gattung, zukommen."[61] At the same time he carefully avoids calling Shakespeare's *Richard III* a tragedy saying: "Schon Shakespeare hatte das Leben und den Tod des dritten Richards auf die Bühne gebracht," and proceeds to distinguish between the "historisches Schauspiel" and the genre to which Weisse's *Richard der Dritte* belongs:

Ich wüßte auch wirklich in dem ganzen Stücke des Shakespears keine einzige Scene, sogar keine einzige Tirade, die Herr Weiß so hätte brauchen können, wie sie dort ist. Alle, auch die kleinsten Theile beym Shakespear sind nach den großen Maaßen des historischen Schauspiels zugeschnitten, und dieses verhält sich zu der Tragödie französischen Geschmacks, ungefehr wie ein weitläuftiges Frescogemählde gegen ein Migniaturbildchen für einen Ring.[62]

Thus Lessing classified Shakespeare's *Richard III* with its bloody scenes and historical setting as dramatized history and consigned it to a realm for which Aristotle had made no specific laws, while Weisse's *Richard der Dritte,* "eine Tragödie französischen Geschmacks," remained subject to these laws and was "verfehlt" because the hero was a "völliger Böse-

[59] Walzel [874] 39 f.
[60] Lessing, *Schriften,* IX 141 f.
[61] *Ibid.,* X 122.
[62] *Ibid.,* X 95 f.

wicht." The "Frescogemälde" to which he referred was perhaps not *Richard III* alone but the whole series of which it formed a part.

A tragedy, according to Aristotle, is an imitation of some action, important, entire, and of proper magnitude . . . which, by the way of action, brings about through pity and fear the correction and refinement of such passions. The discussion of Weisse's production leads Lessing to a thorough examination of Aristotle's view of the tragedy. By pity and fear Aristotle means the fear that it may go so with us. To that end we must feel ourselves akin to the suffering hero. This we cannot do unless he is like ourselves a mixed character, that is to say, neither perfect nor a complete villain. Lessing strives to define precisely the corrective effect of the tragedy, the "catharsis." For the Greek dramatist tragic error had narrow limits. For him "Schuld und Sühne" were nearly equivalent to ὕβρις and νέμεσις. The will of the fates or the gods determined what men did. Guilt consisted in obstinacy and self-vaunting, which inevitably brought humiliation and downfall. But since the time of the Renaissance, tragedy has been predicated chiefly on the theory of the freedom of the will. The varieties of human error have thus become manifold. Herein lies the difficulty of the reconciliation of Shakespeare's dramas with the theory of Aristotle, and hence the obvious insufficiency of Lessing's argument. Witkowski was of the opinion that Lessing was well aware of this incompleteness and capable of clarifying the problem further. He suggested that Lessing refrained from doing so for practical reasons. In support of this he reminded us of Lessing's thesis in *Die Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts:* To every age is revealed not the whole truth, but such portion as is needful and good for it. Fearing the tendency toward a disregard of all rules, which was showing itself at times in the criticism of his day, Lessing hesitated to undermine the authority of Aristotle by exempting Shakespeare from its restrictions.[63]

Let it finally be noted that the whole discussion of the "inconsistency" of Lessing's treatment of Shakespeare's *Richard III* is of late origin. For Lessing's contemporaries "tragedy" had a specific and narrow meaning. For them it was not necessary to insist that Shakespeare's play was not a tragedy. Gottsched said that *Julius Caesar* had more "Schnitzer und Fehler" than "die elendste Haupt- und Staatsaktionen unserer gemeinen Comödianten." Johann Elias Schlegel defended Shakespeare's plays by saying they were not representations of an action but were pictures of character. Gerstenberg called them "Bilder der sittlichen Natur."[64] Herder called *Othello* "lebendige Geschichte der Entstehung, Fortgangs,

[63] Witkowski [868] 527.
[64] See pp. 243, below.

Ausbruchs, traurigen Endes der Leidenschaft dieses edlen Unglückseligen."[65] Against this it weighs little that he next discussed "den schrecklichen Trauerspiel *Macbeth* genannt." All three would no doubt have agreed to call the plays psychological character studies, had such a term existed in their time. In his Shakespeare-Rede Goethe called Shakespeare's theater "ein schöner Raritätenkasten, in dem die Geschichte der Welt vor unsern Augen an den unsichtbaren Faden der Zeit vorüberwallt" and he threw out the question, "wer eigentlich zuerst darauf gekommen ist, die Haupt- und Staatsaktionen aufs Theater zu bringen." He answered: "Ob Shakespearen die Ehre der Erfindung gehört zweifle ich genug."[66] As late as 1784 Wieland observed in his journal: "Shakespeares Stücke sind größtenteils Haupt- und Staatsaktionen."[67] Contemporaries discovered no inconsistency in Lessing's discussion of Weisse's and Shakespeare's Richard dramas.

It is convenient to link Lessing's name with Wieland's. Both men were sufficiently practical and conservative to attempt only the possible and hence to temper Shakespeare to the taste of the time, but here the parallel ends. Lessing, as Gundolf says, discovered Shakespeare because he needed him. Wieland just happened upon him. In his delight he began unreflectingly to translate the dramas that pleased him most, and these were by no means the most characteristically Shakespearean. Gundolf compared the dramas of Shakespeare to a sphere, whose inner fire is represented by *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, *Coriolanus*, and *King Lear*. Beyond this fire, though still warmed by its inner flames, are the histories. Then comes the outermost region: "Die äußerste, gewissermaßen schon abgekühlte, minder kernhafte, lockerste, spielende, flimmernde Schicht bildet die Diktion der Komödien."[68] The beautiful comparison may stand, even though some of the comedies seem to be nearer Shakespeare's central fire than some of the histories. It was particularly to the eerie atmosphere of the comedies that Wieland was sensitive.

Wieland had gained his first knowledge of English literature chiefly through the French translations of Richardson and Addison, but as Bodmer's guest in Zürich, 1752–1754, he applied himself to the study of the English language and of Shakespeare. Bodmer's theory "des Wunderbaren" accorded with his own taste, and when called upon in Biberach to produce a play he did so by combining elements of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *Tempest. Der Sturm oder der erstaunliche Schiffbruch* was first presented there at the beginning of 1761 and frequently repeated thereafter. Versions of *Macbeth*, *Hamlet*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Othello* and *Two Gentlemen of Verona* were also produced later at Biberach and be-

[65] Herder, *Werke*, V 221.
[66] Goethe, *Werke*, I (37) 132–133.
[67] *Teutscher Merkur*, 1784, I 233.
[68] Gundolf [652] 176.

came known beyond the city. *Hamlet* was played with the grave-digger scene included, which even the naturalistic Garrick had always omitted.

The call for a German Shakespeare became insistent after the publication of Young's *Essay on Original Composition*, and Lessing's seventeenth *Literaturbrief*, both of 1769. Wieland harkened to the demand and began with enthusiasm what he called his literary adventure. This enthusiasm has been underrated, and too much stress has been laid upon Wieland's outbreaks of impatience over his painful progress and on his rather cold method of editing his translations. In reality his admiration for Shakespeare was almost as warm as that of the later "Genies," who condemned him so violently. In a letter to his friend Zimmermann, October, 1758, he wrote:

> Je l'aime avec toutes ses fautes. Il est presque unique à peindre d'après la nature les hommes, les moeurs, les passions, il a le talent précieux d'embellir la nature sans qu'elle perde ses proportions. Sa fécondite est inépuisable. Il paraît n'avoir jamais étudié que la nature seule. Il est tantôt le Michel-Ange, tantôt le Corrège des poètes. Où trouver plus de conceptions hardies, et pourtant justes, de pensées nouvelles, belles, sublimes, frappantes, et d'expressions vives, heureuses, animées, que dans les ouvrages de ce génie incomparable? Malheur à celui qui souhaite de la régularité à un génie d'un tel ordre, et qui n'a pas des yeux, ou qui ferme ses yeux pour sentir ses beautés uniquement parce qu'il n'a pas celle que la pièce la plus détestable de Pradon a dans un degré plus éminent que le *Cid*.[69]

The first volume containing *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *King Lear* was ready by the end of August, 1762. It included Pope's preface, which Wieland translated without taking exception to any part of it. By May of the following year there were signs of weariness. Wieland wrote to his friend Gessner at that time:

> Ich habe, als ich vor mehr als einem Jahr mich zur Übersetzung des Shakespeare entschloß, zwar eine ziemliche Vorstellung von der Schwierigkeit gehabt, aber in der That mir nicht den zehnten Theil der Mühe vorgestellt, die ich nunmehr erfahre. Ich glaube nicht, daß irgend eine Arbeit der Galeeren-Sclaven-Arbeit ähnlicher sey als diese, und obgleich das Vergnügen, womit sie von Zeit zu Zeit begleitet ist, die Mühe versüßt, so ist doch immer richtig, daß ich eine Menge Zeit mit diesem Autor verschleudre, die ich nüzlicher anwenden könnte.[70]

By September, 1766, Wieland had completed eight volumes containing twenty-two plays, and at this point he faltered. *Richard III*, *Coriolanus*, and *Cymbeline* were the most important omissions. Wieland had entered upon his task with a limited admiration for Shakespeare, an incomplete knowledge of English and inadequate help. His works of reference were Rowe's *Some Account of the Life and Writings of William Shakespeare*,

[69] Quoted by Van Tieghem [770] 122.
[70] Quoted by Stadler [941] 14.

Boyer's *Dictionnaire royal français et anglais*, edition of 1756, and a dictionary of Shakespeare's works and phrases, the author of which he later forgot,[71] perhaps Dodd's *The Beauties of Shakespeare*. The basis of his translation was the latest and worst available, the Pope-Warburton edition of 1747. He also used Theobald's edition. For his last volume containing *Hamlet* and *A Winter's Tale* he used Johnson's edition. In addition he knew La Place's *Le Théâtre anglois*, of which volumes i–iv were devoted to Shakespeare.[72]

Wieland's translation found little favor, as may be inferred from Lessing's defense of it in the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*.[73] Herder demanded: "Wie lange wird man Popen in wässerichter Prose, und Shakespeare im ungleichsten fast nie getroffenen Ton übersetzen?"[74] He found *Romeo und Julie* least successful and surmised to Caroline that Wieland "nie selbst eine Romeo-Liebe gefühlt hat; sondern sich nur immer mit seinen Sympathien und Pantheen und Seraphins den Kopf voll geweht, statt das Herz je menschlich erwärmt hat."[75] For certain monologues in *Lear*, *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, and *Der Sommernachtstraum*, Herder "would like to have scratched out Wieland's eyes;"[76] and yet in his own translations of lyric passages from Shakespeare he borrowed phrases and even entire verses from Wieland.

Public criticism of Wieland's translation came from two sides. Nicolai asserted:

> Von Rechtswegen sollte man einen Mann, wie Shakespeare, gar nicht übersetzt haben. Ohne Kenntniß der englischen Sprache, der englischen Sitten, des englischen Humors, kann man an dem größten Theil seiner Werke wenig Geschmack finden; wer also das obige versteht, wird diesen trefflichen Schriftsteller englisch lesen, und wer es nicht versteht, sollte ihn billig gar nicht lesen.[77]

Weisse believed that Shakespeare should have been introduced as Brumoy had presented the Greek drama: that excerpts of the scenes should have been given and only the best scenes translated in their entirety,[78] but Wieland declared: "Mein Vorsatz war, meinen Autor mit allen seinen Fehlern zu übersetzen und dies um so mehr, weil mir däuchte, daß sehr oft seine Fehler selbst eine Art von Schönheiten sind."[79]

The detrimental criticism, however, came from the Schleswig *Briefe*

[71] Neither Stadler nor Meisnest [943] could identify it.
[72] Meisnest [943] 19 ff.
[73] Lessing, *Schriften*, IX 245.
[74] Herder, *Werke*, I 217.
[75] *Herders Briefwechsel*, XXXIX (1926) 17; October 28, 1770.
[76] *Briefe an J. H. Merck*, ed. K. Wagner, Darmstadt, 1835, 13.
[77] ADB, I 1 (1765) 30.
[78] BSWFK, IX (1763) 257–270. Cf. NBSWFK, XXIII (1779) 230 and XXXV (1788) 106 ff.
[79] *Teutscher Merkur*, 1773, III 187.

über die Merkwürdigkeiten der Literatur. Gerstenberg asserted that Wieland was entirely unfitted by training and temperament for his task, as was evident enough from the stiffness of his style, his failure to find the right tone for his translation, and his insensitivity to Shakespeare's humor.[80] Gerstenberg's critique became one of the sacred documents of the "Stürmer und Dränger," and thus obscured the fact that Wieland was in reality a bold herald of Shakespeare and that he suppressed far less than his critics inferred. To be sure his omissions have a different aspect from Schlegel's. As Gundolf says: "Wenn Schlegel Shakespeare-Stellen schwächte oder wegließ, so war dies ein stillschweigendes Geständnis, daß das Publikum zu dumm dafür sei. Wenn Wieland wegläßt oder kommentiert . . . so gibt er immer zu, daß Shakespeare hier zu schlecht sei für das Publikum."[81]

The year 1773 found Wieland's translation sold out. The publishers asked for a revised edition. Wieland declined the task of correcting the many errors which had been pointed out, and rejoiced to learn that the competent Eschenburg was willing to undertake it. The Wieland-Eschenburg translation, 1775–1777, in twelve volumes was complete and all in prose excepting Wieland's translation of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and Eschenburg's *Richard III.* Eschenburg not only translated the plays omitted by Wieland, but filled in the gaps left in others as well, amounting to as many as 250 verses in a single play. He also corrected a large number of Wieland's worst errors. Eschenburg was a scholar who possessed a library of over four hundred volumes relating to Shakespeare and his time including the better Johnson Shakespeare, and he was equipped with a mastery of the English language and a professional knowledge of English literature. His introductions and comments formed the largest body of information available in Germany or perhaps even in Europe, but he was not a poet. The critic Biester wrote in the *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek:* "Wieland hat einige Stücke ganz unstreitig mit unendlich mehr Genie und Styl, kurz mehr nach dem Geist des Dichters übersetzt, aber auch unendlich weniger Englisch verstanden wie seine vielen Fehler beweisen."[82] This opinion has maintained itself. Köster pronounced in 1891: "Eschenburg war kein dichterisch veranlagter Mensch, sondern ein fleißiger nüchterner Erklärer."[83] Gervinus is the only notable challenger of this view: "Wielands Shakespeare, wie unvollständig und mangelhaft es auch war, ward immer eine Vorarbeit für Eschenburg."[84]

[80] *Loc. cit.*, Briefe 14–18; in [792].
[81] Gundolf [652] 170.
[82] ADB, Anhang zu Bdn. XXV–XXXVI, 3370.
[83] Köster [902] 52.
[84] Gervinus, *Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung,* Leipzig, 1873, IV 424.

The Wieland-Eschenburg translation presently became the victim of a pirated edition, nominally of Mannheim but in reality printed in Strassburg. The title page read: "*William Shakespeares Schauspiele* von Joh. Joach. Eschenburg . . . neue verbesserte Auflage." A second preface, however, made it clear that the corrections were not by Eschenburg and only the first three volumes of the translation bore the name of Eschenburg on the title page. This literary theft brought the Mannheim edition into disrepute, and not until recently has its perpetrator received the small measure of credit due to him. It is now known that the culprit involved was Gabriel Eckert, who was a scholar, commanding an even better mastery of English than Eschenburg.

A new edition of Eschenburg's translation was called for in 1796. Eschenburg was at first reluctant to undertake it but later changed his mind. This caused an about-face on Wieland's part. He had written to Heinrich Gessner in Zürich, urging that his publishing house should undertake the printing of the Schlegel translation despite the exorbitant honorarium demanded, but now he wrote urging that the Eschenburg revision be published instead, "denn daß Schlegels gekünstelte Iamben, wobey Shakespeare mehr verlieren als gewinnen wird, wenig Glück machen, Eschenburgs Arbeit hingegen immer wesentliche Vorzüge vor der Schlegelschen behaupten wird, darauf könnt Ihr sicher rechnen."[85]

Since Eckert had stolen all that he approved of from Eschenburg, the latter no doubt felt justified in accepting without acknowledgment whatever he felt he must from Eckert. In reality the amount was considerable. Roughly Eckert introduced about 465 corrections into his pirated edition. In his second edition Eschenburg accepted without acknowledgment 270 of these and should have accepted at least 135 more.[86] Despite its ignominious status the Mannheim edition was textually the best of its time, as Schiller discovered in 1800 when he set about to devise his *Macbeth* adaptation.[87]

When not in the midst of his labor of translation Wieland appreciated Shakespeare broadly and, in his personal correspondence and his *Teutscher Merkur*, he usually wrote in a tone of unmixed enthusiasm. In 1784 an event in Vienna led him to state his position finally and fully. The playwright Ayrenhoff, a strict French classicist, wrote a drama, *Kleopatra und Antonius*, with a distinctly anti-Shakespearean tendency. His drama was based on Dryden's *All for Love, or the World Well Lost*. In his preface he misinterpreted some statements of Wieland in the *Merkur*,

[85] Seuffert [937] 231.
[86] Uhde-Bernays [789] 23.
[87] *Ibid.*, 87–89.

making him appear as an adherent of the French school, and made bold to dedicate his drama to Wieland. Thus challenged, Wieland hastened to set the public right. He said Shakespeare was for him

der erste dramatische Dichter aller Zeiten und Völker . . . weil ihn in allem, was das Wesentlichste eines großen Dichters überhaupt und eines dramatischen insonderheit ausmacht, an Stärke aller Seelenkräfte, an innigem Gefühl der Natur, an Feuer der Einbildungskraft und der Gabe, sich in jeden Charakter zu verwandeln, sich in jede Situation und Leidenschaft zu setzen, weder Corneille noch Racine, weder Crébillon noch Voltaire . . . bei weitem . . . erreicht haben. Wer von Spuren eines großen Genies spricht, die man oft in seinen Werken finde, erweckt den Verdacht, sie nie gelesen zu haben. Nicht Spuren sondern immerwährende Ausstralungen und volle Ergießungen des mächtigsten, reichsten, erhabensten Genies, das jemals einen Dichter begeistert hat, sind es, die mich bei Lesung seiner Werke überwältigen, mich für seine Fehler und Unregelmäßigkeiten unempfindlich machen.[88]

The prose of Wieland's translation has been criticized. He chose it deliberately, for he laid too great stress upon form to proceed otherwise. He condemned Pope's falsification of the Homeric form, and he himself rendered Aristophanes with the closest adherence to his model in respect to trochaic, anapaestic, and iambic verse; but it was his mature conviction that Shakespeare's dramas were "geistvolle Impromptus," and that the verse form was purely accidental, often concealing rather than revealing the true meaning. To *A Midsummer Night's Dream* alone Wieland recognized the verse as indispensable and he retained it. He strove to translate the lyric passages into verse but if dismayed he usually omitted them. Prose renderings of the songs are rare.

Since Wieland was not a creative genius of form or language, but rather an admirable imitator, his success is a just measure of the range of the German language at that time as compared with the Elizabethan English. There is too much of the rational Addison-Voltaire-Lessing tendency toward simplification and suppression, too little "Sturm und Drang" turbulence for the passionate scenes, too little of the classic perfection of *Iphigenia* for the more austere passages.

A poet so susceptible as Wieland could not long dwell upon *A Midsummer Night's Dream* without falling under its ban. Gundolf found its spell in *Don Sylvio von Rosalvo* and *Oberon*, though, to be sure, "in die Sonnenstäubchen ist mancher Puderstaub und Bücherstaub gemischt."

Don Sylvio von Rosalvo ist die erste Dichtung in die [Shakespeare] nicht nur als Rohstoff übernommen ist, sondern als seelische Substanz spürbar bis in Tonfälle hinein. . . . Die Sprache schleppt nicht mehr ihre Inhalte, sondern wird von ihnen getragen—Die Sätze . . . sind leicht und gleitend wie das, wovon sie reden.

[88] *Teutscher Merkur*, 1784, I 234 f.

In *Oberon* he distinguished:

> Nicht Feenmotive, sondern Feenluft, Elfenspiel, Mondscheinlandschaft und die sinnige Verknüpfung von Schicksal und Stimmung, von Sinnlichkeit und Schicksal, die sprachliche Lockerheit, die sich den sinnlichen Eindrücken anschmiegt und sie wiedergibt, . . . kurz die Eroberung der deutschen Sprache als Klang und Ton für die Sinnlichkeit und für die Phantasie: das ist hier Shakespeares Einfluß.[89]

Goethe failed to recognize any such influence and in his speech "zum brüderlichen Andenken Wielands" he said:

> Diese Übersetzung [i.e. Wieland's Shakespeare], so eine große Wirkung sie in Deutschland hervorgebracht, scheint auf Wieland selbst wenig Einfluß gehabt zu haben. Er stand mit seinem Autor allzusehr in Widerstreit, wie man genugsam erkennt aus den übergangenen und ausgelassenen Stellen, mehr noch aus den hinzugefügten Noten, aus welchen die französische Sinnesart hervorblickt.[90]

At the same time Goethe nevertheless commended Wieland's translation. He conceived Shakespeare somewhat unaccountably as a poet who appealed to the eye rather than the ear, and this enjoyment, he felt was hampered by startling turns of phrase. To Falk he said, on January 25, 1813, the day of Wieland's burial: "Eben diese hohe Natürlichkeit ist der Grund, warum ich den Shakespeare, wenn ich mich wahrhaft ergötzen will, jedesmal in der Wielandschen Übersetzung lese."[91]

[89] Gundolf [652] 179–181.
[90] Goethe, *Werke*, I (36) 326.
[91] Biedermann, *Goethes Gespräche*², Leipzig, 1910, II 166.

Chapter XVIII

HERDER AND THE THEORIES OF GENIUS

About the same time that Lessing wrote his seventeenth *Literaturbrief* the poet Edward Young was persuaded by his friends to publish his *Conjectures on Original Composition*. In the long protracted debate that had been waged in England between the ancients and the moderns, the *Conjectures* summed up the case of the latter. Young distinguished two kinds of imitators: imitators of other authors, and of nature. The latter he designated as originals or geniuses, but these were also of two kinds: infantine and adult. Swift was an infantine genius, who had to train himself by study, Shakespeare was an adult genius, born in full possession of his powers. Young protested against all copying of other authors. The imitation of the ancients was harmful, he said. They produced great works because they imitated nature. We should imitate nature, not the ancients. Thus he arrived at the paradox: "The less we copy the renowned ancients, we shall resemble them the more." Before Young's utterance on the subject, Jonson, Dryden, Addison and Shaftesbury had made similar distinctions between adult and infantine geniuses, but Young drew therefrom a practical conclusion of his own, namely, that true genius suffers from the spirit of imitation, which destroys the will to surpass, "counteracts nature's intent," and "thwarts her design."

Because the ideas were not essentially new, the *Conjectures* made only a moderate stir in England; but in Germany, it has been asserted, they heralded the new literary epoch. The glorification of Shakespeare and originality, it was said, and the abjuring of literary traditions, so roundly proclaimed in Young's manifesto, gave to "Sturm und Drang" esthetics the initial or essential impulse.

The history of the *Conjectures* in Germany, from 1760 to 1770, would give some support to the assertion of widespread influence, but it would appear that this theory is of late origin[1] and not fully substantiated. The hour was obviously favorable for the reception of the *Conjectures*. The dispute between Gottsched and the Swiss had long since given way to questions of a more vital nature. The Shakespeare criticism of Johann Elias Schlegel, and of Lessing, was symptomatic of an impulse to justify

[1] Koch, 1879 [141] merely stated that Young's *Conjectures* lent the "Sturm und Drang" time a valuable weapon. In 1883 [288] he made no comment on the subject. In his *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*[1], 1897, 544, he said: "Von Youngs *Conjectures* und Wood's *Essay über den Originalgenius Homers* hat sie die Forderung nach Ursprünglichkeit übernommen." Von Weilen 1890 [792] emphasized the influence on Gerstenberg. In 1906 Kind [625] included Hamann, Herder, Nicolai, Mendelssohn, and Resewitz. Steinke [626] believed that Kind was too ready to accept parallel passages as evidence. See also Weber [843].

Shakespeare on one ground or another, and Rousseau's doctrine of a return to nature had laid the basis for a new theory of literary production.

Published in England in 1759 the *Conjectures* were translated into German twice the following year[2] and were widely commented upon. Gottsched's disparaging remarks sufficiently represent the view of the rationalists:

> Young hätte lieber bei finstern Nachtgedanken seine Phantasie beschäftigen oder von Larven, Gespenstern und Hexenversammlungen dichten sollen, um Kinder zu erschrecken, als daß er sich in eine Abhandlung kritischer Materien gemischt hätte, denen er kein Licht anzuzünden im Stande war.[3]

Nicolai took up the gauntlet for the *Conjectures* in the *Literaturbriefe*, and favorable reviews appeared also in many journals.[4] Rambach attempted a refutation of the *Conjectures* in a "Schulprogram" of 1765 but was answered promptly by Herder,[5] and on the whole the *Conjectures* had the better of it in the journalistic controversy.

Lessing was not fully won over by Young's views. In the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, Stück 73, he says, to be sure, that not Shakespeare but Shakespeare's method should be studied; that we should learn to see through his medium as through a camera obscura, but that we must not borrow from him. Lessing, like Young, gives to genius a rank superior to learning and says that a genius is not bound by rule.[6] But here the agreement is more verbal than actual, for a genius was, to Lessing, a being born with a sure instinct for form. That there existed fixed canons of form, he did not doubt, hence he had no practical application for Young's definition, and dropped the subject of Shakespeare after the seventeenth number of the *Literaturbriefe*. Even when he took it up again in the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* he neither claimed the support of Young nor joined issue with him.

It is the leading theorists of the "Sturm und Drang" movement, Hamann, Gerstenberg, and Herder, who are generally supposed to have owed most to Young's essay. Hamann went to England in a commercial capacity (1757), underwent there a religious experience, and soon after began reading the works of Young. His *Sokratische Denkwürdigkeiten*, written late in 1759, treat of genius and bear some traces of Young's

[2] Von T[eubern]. Leipzig, 1760; "G", Hamburg, 1760.

[3] *Das Neueste aus der anmuthigen Gelehrsamkeit*, 1760, 671–689.

[4] *Loc. cit.*, X 1 (1761) 310–322. BSWFK, VII I (1760) 180–183; GGA, 1762, 375; *Beyträge zur Litteratur und zum Vergnügen*, 1766, *passim; Nordische Aufseher*, III (1770) 328–339. See also Schmid's *Theorie der Poesie* (1767) I 47.

[5] Rambach, *Schreiben über die Frage, ob das Lesen der Alten an dem Mangel der Original-scribenten Schuld sey.* Quedlinburg, 1765; cf. *Königsbergische gelehrte und politische Zeitung*, Stück 10, February 1766, and Herder, *Werke*, I 121–123.

[6] Lessing, *Schriften*, X 210.

Conjectures, but Hamann had already formed his own particular theory of genius, in which faith and passive waiting for the spirit of God played the chief role. His theory had a mystical basis that did not need the support of Young's logic. In Gerstenberg's introduction to his translation of Fletcher's *The Bride,* 1705, there are parallels to ideas of Young as well as of Home. In his essay on Shakespeare in the *Briefe über die Merkwürdigkeiten der Literatur* xiv–xviii (1766) Gerstenberg joins with Young in his campaign against imitative literature, but he follows it up with a comparison of Young's weak imitation, the *Revenge,* and its predecessor *Othello.* Henry Home in his *Elements of Criticism,* 1760, had already instituted a like comparison. In 1776 Herder openly defended the *Conjectures* and copied passages into his note book,[7] but this was a few years after he had written his *Shakespear,* which was inspired by Gerstenberg and Lessing, and by English critics other than Young.

It was vexation over Wieland's translation which gave the original impulse to Gerstenberg's essay, but from this he falls into the temptation as he says, "etwas umständlicher . . . von meiner Bekanntschaft mit Shakespearn zu schwätzen." In the course of his discussion he shows a familiarity with the comments of earlier English critics, especially Home, to whom he refers at least four times. In his definition of Shakespeare's plays he anticipated Herder. Shakespeare has never been properly appreciated, he says, because of the "übel angewandte Begriff, den wir vom Drama der Griechen haben." He is willing to admit that Shakespeare's plays are not tragedies and comedies in the Greek sense, but he exclaims: "Weg mit der Classification des Dramas! Nennen Sie diese *Plays* mit Wielanden, oder mit der Gottschedischen Schule Haupt- und Staatsactionen, mit den brittischen Kunstrichtern history, tragedy, tragicomedy, comedy wie sie wollen: Ich nenne sie lebendige Bilder der sittlichen Natur."[8] This distinction differs from Johann Elias Schlegel's chiefly in that it is more explicit. In his comparison of Young's *Revenge* and Shakespeare's *Othello* he says: "Young schilderte Leidenschaften; Shakespeare das mit Leidenschaft verbundene Sentiment."[9] He quotes Home in support of this distinction, but Herder later made the assertion still more definite: "In Othello, dem Mohren welche Welt! welch ein Ganzes! lebendige Geschichte der Entstehung [des] Fortgangs, Ausbruchs, traurigen Endes der Leidenschaft dieses Edlen Unglückseligen."[10] The effect of Gerstenberg's essay was slightly weakened by his attempted demonstration that *The Merry Wives of Windsor* fulfilled all

[7] Haym, *Herder . . .,* Berlin, 1880, I 149.
[8] DLD, XXX (1890) 112. Cf. von Weilen [792].
[9] *Ibid.,* 115.
[10] Herder, *Werke,* V 221.

the requirements of comedy as defined by the French and by his idea of accepting Polonius's classification of plays as Shakespeare's own: "tragedy, comedy, history, pastoral, tragical-historical, historical pastoral, pastoral-comical, comical-historical-pastoral."[11]

The inconsistencies of this otherwise excellent essay provided the starting point for Herder's *Shakespear*. This essay was begun as a "Sendschreiben an Gerstenberg" in 1771. Between September of that year and 1772 it remained untouched and was not in a condition to be read at Goethe's "Shakespearefeier" in Frankfurt. Before Herder set to work on it again he had read Elizabeth Montagu's *Essay on the Genius and Writings of Shakespeare*, translated by Eschenburg in 1771, and works by other English critics as well. During 1772 he worked a little farther on the theme, as is attested by a fragmentary manuscript bearing the title "Zweierlei Dramen." It was finally completed in 1773 and with other now famous essays was published by Bode under the title *Von deutscher Art und Kunst, einige fliegende Blätter*.

It was under the tutelage of Hamann that Herder first studied English. As a text book *Hamlet* was used, the drama of Shakespeare that Hamann knew most thoroughly. Like Hamann, Herder proclaimed that poetry was a part of God's revelation and the poet must have no purpose of his own, must lay no restraint upon himself, but must write as it was given him to do. Thus every age might have the revelation intended for it.

The conception of Herder as a typical "Sturm und Drang" critic needs some qualification. As a matter of fact he often took his position with Lessing rather than with Hamann and Gerstenberg. In 1764 he was enthusiastic with Hamann and Gerstenberg "für den großen Wilden [Shakespeare], der wie ein Gott Menschenherzen schafft und sie zur Höllenglut erschüttert; dessen Schöpferstab hier ein Feenreich, dort heulende Wildnisse hervorzaubert."[12] In 1766 he used the word "Zweck" in Lessing's sense: "Könnte ich's doch laut ruffen, daß . . . ein Shakespearscher *Lear* oder *Hamlet* ohne alle Anlage den Zweck des Trauerspiels erreicht, dramatisch zu rühren,"[13] but with Herder poetry was usually "Selbstzweck;" with Lessing it was a means to an end; with Herder a genius was one more than normally endowed with the ability to feel and to express; with Lessing he was an individual with an inborn instinct for form and for the proper means to an end. In an unpublished fragment of 1766 Herder agreed with Lessing's assertion "daß wir in unsern Trauerspielen mehr sehen und denken wollen, als uns das furcht-

[11] DLD, XXX (1890) 139 f.
[12] Joachimi-Dege [763] 108.
[13] Herder, *Werke*, I 436 f.

same französische Trauerspiel zu sehen und zu denken giebt," and "daß wir mehr in den Geschmack der Engländer einschlagen,"[14] but added:

> Ja sie geben sehr viel zu sehen; aber uns Deutschen wirklich zu viel. Man gebe doch nur auf sich Acht, was man bei Shakespear siehet; immer zu viel, als nicht betäubt zu werden, zu fremde Phönomene, als an ihnen Theil zu nehmen; zu unwahrscheinliche, als sie auch mit einem starken theatralischen Glauben ansehen zu können.[15]

After the publication of the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* he declared himself explicitly in accord with Lessing's view. He stressed the imaginative power of Shakespeare. In 1768 he called him a genius who is nothing in the details of execution but everything "im großen wilden Bau der Fabel."[16] In 1770, in a review of Gerstenberg's *Ugolino*, he called for:

> Ein theatralisches Genie, das auch nur Funken von Shakespeares Geist hätte, ihm aber seine Untereinandermischung, sein Übereinanderwerfen der Scenen und Empfindungen ließe, und sich keine Episoden erlaubte—was wäre dies für eine schöne Mäßigung des Britten![17]

At one time the influence of Young on Herder was greatly overestimated. Much weightier was the combined influence of Samuel Johnson, Henry Home, John Brown, Richard Hurd, and Elizabeth Montagu. Baumgarten and Mendelssohn had anticipated Home at some points, but it was Home who first advocated the subjective and psychological conception of poetry as an approach to literary criticism. Herder mentions Home as early as 1766. To be sure Home chiefly described the new method and it remained for Herder to carry the theory to its logical conclusion and submerge himself in his poet. Home's *Elements of Criticism*, translated by Meinhard, 1763–1766, and read by Herder at about that time, is, like Young's essay, largely based upon Shakespeare. Herder also read Hurd's *Dissertation* on the provinces of the drama, in which the author makes a distinction between "action" and "essential fact," translated by Eschenburg as "Handlung" and "Begebenheit." Herder makes a similar distinction in the second draft of his *Shakespear*.[18] He also read and commented upon Brown's *Dissertation on the Rise, Union, Power, the Progressions, Separations and Corruptions of Poetry and Music*, 1763, translated by Eschenburg in 1769.[19] Brown treats of the origins of poetry among the barbarians, attributes to the Greek drama a musical origin, and declares that the presence of the chorus was the reason for the time and place unity of the Greek drama. Montagu's *Essay on the Genius and Writings of Shakespeare* Herder read in the trans-

[14] Lessing, *Schriften*, VIII 42.
[15] Herder, *Werke*, II 233.
[16] *Ibid.*, IV 284.
[17] *Ibid.*, IV 312.
[18] *Ibid.*, V 245.
[19] Weber [843] 110 f.

lation of Eschenburg in 1771, obviously after he had prepared the first draft of his *Shakespear* but before he wrote the second draft, which had been lying untouched from September, 1771 to the beginning of 1772. Gerstenberg's *Briefe über die Merkwürdigkeiten der Literatur* gave the impulse to the first part, Montagu's essay to the second.[20]

In Herder's essay there are echoes of Pope, Warburton, Johnson, and Young, who had extolled Shakespeare's knowledge of the human soul or even called him creator, but for verbal parallels couched in like effusive tones we must turn to Henry Home. Into the second draft of Herder's essay came the expansion of the parts dealing with Aristotle in his relation to Shakespeare, the remarks on the French drama, which was merely touched upon before, and the comments on *Macbeth*. All of these were suggested by the essay of Elizabeth Montagu. Shakespeare's right to be judged by a standard set by himself and his own times rather than by the "rules" had been asserted by Warburton, Johnson, and Young, but Montagu discussed at greater length the difference between the Greek drama and the Elizabethan, using phrases and examples that we think of as typically Herderian. In short it can no longer be asserted that Herder was the first promulgator of the method of historical criticism, but he carried subjectivity in regard to Shakespeare further than any of his predecessors, sinking himself so completely into his subject as to preclude all esthetic criticism. It remained for the romanticists to superimpose objectivity upon like subjectiveness and so make criticism again possible.

However much Herder was influenced by the views of his English contemporaries, it still remains true that he had long been approaching Shakespeare by a different route, which Caroline Herder indicated with sufficient clarity:

> Seine Bekanntschaft mit diesem Dichter [Shakespeare] und mit Ossian entwickelte seine eigenthümliche Sympathie und vorherrschende Liebe zur einfachrührenden Natursprache der Volkslieder, deren Keim durch die morgenländische Poesie schon in früher Jugend in ihm geweckt worden war.[21]

In other words Herder's primary interest was in the folk song, which he first discovered in the Bible. The further pursuit led him in the indicated order to Homer, not mentioned by Caroline, and then to Shakespeare and Ossian. Out of the folk song, he maintained, more highly organized forms of literature developed: the Homeric epic by oral tradition, the drama of Sophocles from dithyrambic religious songs, and by 1771 he was minded to support the thesis that Shakespeare's plays were by

[20] *Ibid.*, 45, 48 f.

[21] Caroline von Herder, *Erinnerungen* . . ., ed. J. G. Müller, Tübingen 1820, I 64.

the logic of literary development the product of English folk song and folklore. In his *Alte Volkslieder*, 1774, he says:

> Die größten Sänger und Günstlinge der Musen, *Chaucer* und *Spenser*, *Shakespear* und *Milton*, *Philipp Sidnei* und *Selden*—was kann, was soll ich alle nennen? waren *Enthusiasten der alten Lieder*, und der Beweis wäre nicht schwer, daß das *Lyrische*, *Mythische*, *Dramatische*, und *Epische*, wodurch die Englische Dichtkunst *national* unterscheidet, aus diesen alten Resten alter Sänger und Dichter entstanden sey. Von *Chaucer*, *Spenser*, *Shakespear* darfs keines Beweises.[22]

Under this conviction Herder in his *Shakespear* opens up the question: "Wie, auf welche Künst und Schöpferweise Shakespear eine elende Romanze, Novelle und Fabelhistorie zu solch einem lebendigen Gantzen habe dichten können." He calls this "das Herz meiner Untersuchung" and regrets that the question has never entered the mind of Warburton or of Home, the "Aristoteles dieses britischen Sophocles."[23] In the introduction to his *Reliques* Percy noted that Shakespeare had occasionally quoted ancient ballads and even taken the plot of one. Percy included in his collection "The Jew of Venice," "Titus Andronicus," "Complaint," and "King Leir and his three Daughters." Johnson had said: "His English histories he took from English chronicles and English ballads." Theobald referred to Shakespeare's treatment of "translations, romances, and legends." Warton referred to an ancient ballad called "Merchant of Venice," and to a ballad on "Romeo and Juliet," closer to Shakespeare's plot than Bandello's story which, he said, Shakespeare may never have read. He added: "I doubt not but he received the hint of writing on *King Lear* from a ballad of that subject."[24] Critics have troubled themselves unnecessarily over the inclusion of songs from Shakespeare in Herder's *Volkslieder*. The inclusion throws no light on his definition of the "folk song." He reproduced them because they showed the relationship of folk song to later forms, and the poems as a whole, he says, are to be regarded "mehr also wie Materialien zu Dichtkunst, als daß sie Dichtkunst selber wären."[25]

During his torturing experiences in Strassburg Herder was often visited in his darkened room by the young student Goethe. It has come to be popularly believed that Herder first taught Goethe and his Strassburg friends in 1771 to appreciate Shakespeare. The evidence is: Herder's views may be gathered from his essay *Shakespear*, published in 1773 but already begun in Strassburg in 1771. Goethe's views were proclaimed by the "Rede" *Zum Schäkespears Tag*, delivered in Frankfurt in 1771

[22] Herder, *Werke*, XXXV 8.
[23] *Ibid.*, V 229.
[24] Gillies [853] 270 f.
[25] Herder, *Werke*, XXV 331.

simultaneously with one by Lerse in Strassburg, and Lenz's opinions appeared in his *Anmerkungen über's Theater*, first published as an introduction to his *Amor Vincit Omnia*, a translation of *Love's Labour's Lost*, 1774. The ideas expressed in these manifestos are similar and are couched in similar phraseology. They have a common historical approach and a common polemic tone directed against the French; hence critics have generally assumed that Herder was the mentor of the group.

Let us first consider Goethe. From *Dichtung und Wahrheit* we learn that he read Dodd's *Beauties of Shakespeare* in Leipzig in 1776. In the preliminary outline to his autobiography Goethe noted: "Dodds *Beauties of Shakespeare*. Große Wirkung auf mich. Auswendiglernen und Vortragen von Monologen."[26] Several quotations from the collection occur in his letters to Cornelia from Easter, 1766, to May, 1767, and significantly they occur in precisely the same sequence as in Dodd.[27] During his slow convalescence in Frankfurt Goethe broadened, no doubt, his acquaintance with Shakespeare. On February 20, 1770, he wrote to the bookdealer Reich: "Nach Oeser und Shakespeare ist Wieland noch der einzige, den ich für meinen echten Lehrer erkennen kann; andre hatten mir gezeigt, daß ich fehlte, diese zeigten mir, wie ich's besser machen sollte."[28] There are also passages in Goethe's *Ephemerides* which show that in his earliest Strassburg days he was reading Shakespeare thoughtfully.[29]

In the tenth book of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* Goethe speaks of his association with Herder without referring either to Shakespeare or to Ossian. In the eleventh book he tells of a new influence that began to affect him and his circle of friends and turn them away from French literature. He mentions his earlier acquaintance with Shakespeare and with Wieland's translation. He tells how he and his friends in Strassburg now read Shakespeare in whole and in part, in the original and in translation, and how they imitated the manner of life of Shakespeare's time and even his quibbles. Herein Lenz distinguished himself especially. Herder is not mentioned as a leader and it is inconceivable that he participated in any absurdities. Goethe was apparently himself the leader of the younger circle. "Hiezu trug nicht wenig bei, daß ich ihn [Shakespeare] vor allen mit großem Enthusiasmus ergriffen hatte. Ein freudiges Bekennen, daß etwas Höheres über mir schwebe, war ansteckend für meine Freunde, die sich alle dieser Sinnesart hingaben." Thereupon Goethe does indeed mention Herder: "Will jemand unmittelbar erfahren, was damals in

[26] Goethe, *Werke*, I (26) 387. Cf. I (28) 72.
[27] Leitzmann [816] 60 f.
[28] Goethe, *Werke*, IV (1) 230.
[29] *Ibid.*, I (37) 94 f.

dieser lebendigen Gesellschaft gedacht, gesprochen und verhandelt worden, der lese den Aufsatz Herders über Shakespeare in dem Hefte *Von Deutscher Art und Kunst;* ferner Lenzens *Anmerkungen über's Theater.*"[30] Herder then is only mentioned in passing, along with the others. Neither did Goethe mean to infer that all his friends in Strassburg appreciated Shakespeare in a similar fashion.

If Herder was not the one who first filled Goethe with admiration for Shakespeare, still less was Herder Goethe's teacher in the manner suggested by Suphan. The will for methodical instruction was lacking on both sides: "Wäre Herder methodischer gewesen," Goethe says, in *Dichtung und Wahrheit,* "so hätte ich auch für eine dauerhafte Richtung meiner Bildung die köstlichste Anleitung gefunden; aber er war mehr geneigt zu prüfen und anzuregen, als zu führen und zu leiten."[31]

Lenz, on the other hand, never exchanged opinions with Herder in Straßburg, in fact never met him there. He prefixed to his *Anmerkungen über's Theater* the assertion: "Diese Schrift ward zwey Jahre vor Erscheinung der *Deutschen Art und Kunst* und des *Götz von Berlichingen* in einer Gesellschaft guter Freunde vorgelesen." Some forty years later Goethe observed in *Dichtung und Wahrheit* that the assertion was "einigermaßen auffallend" and that the existence of any such society as Lenz spoke of was unknown to him.[32] Naturally enough the later commentators shared Goethe's doubts, for in the first place Goethe's ignorance of the society was good negative evidence, secondly, certain passages in the *Anmerkungen* were obviously called out by Herder's essay, and finally Lenz's assertions were considered none too trustworthy where his own personal vanity was involved. It has been shown however, that such a society did exist, that Lenz was its leading spirit, that he read papers before it as early as 1771, that the treatise, as it finally appeared, was made up of four separate "Anmerkungen" written between 1771 and 1774,[33] and that Lenz's prefatory remark in regard to the priority of his *Anmerkungen* over Herder's *Shakespeare* and Goethe's *Götz* is justified, when applied to the first two parts. Internal evidence also supports this

[30] *Ibid.,* I (28) 75.
[31] *Ibid.,* I (27) 314.
[32] *Ibid.,* I (28) 251.
[33] 1. "Über die Theorie von den drei Einheiten im Drama," read before the Strassburg "Societé de philosophie et de belles-lettres" in the winter of 1771. 2. Über das Wesen des Dramas," read before the same society probably a short time after. 3. "Über das Handwerksmäßige in der dramatischen Literatur der Franzosen," written not earlier than 1773 as is shown by its echoes of Herder's *Shakespeare.* 4. "Über den Unterschied des antiken und modernen Dramas," which was added to the others in 1774 just before the publication. Friedrich [863] has republished the whole essay in variorum type even indicating such details as "erste Bearbeitung," "Flickstellen der ersten Bearbeitung" and "zweite Überarbeitung."

view. Lessing's *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* is the only necessary presupposition to these portions. In *Shakespeare*, in *Zum Schäkespears Tag*, and in the earliest *Anmerkungen* Herder, Goethe, and Lenz develop, each in his own way, the fundamental idea of Lessing's seventeenth *Literaturbrief* and his *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, Stück 46, regarding the unities; the second of Lenz's *Anmerkungen* shows the author's familiarity with the ideas of Batteux, and Baumgarten;[34] the third the stimulating effect of Herder's *Shakespear;* and the "erste Redaktion" gives back verbal echoes of Goethe's *Rede zum Schäkespears Tag.*[35]

The second essay was called "Über die Veränderungen des Theaters in Shakespeare." Lenz here defends the frequent change of scenes in Shakespeare's plays, but attacks the disciples of Shakespeare, "die uns glauben machen wollen, Shakespeares Schönheiten beständen bloß in seiner Unregelmäßigkeit."

Whenever in the *Anmerkungen* the subject of genius is touched upon Young's essay on that subject seems to play a role either directly or indirectly. There are certain inconsistencies in Lenz's work as a whole but few within the limits of any one group of *Anmerkungen.*

It has sometimes been said that the "Stürmer und Dränger," in spite of their impatience with Wieland, derived their impressions of Shakespeare through him, particularly the idea of the negligibility of the verse form of his dramas. This statement calls for some reservations; Goethe's friends in Strassburg sought in every way to place themselves in direct relation with Shakespeare and tried their hands at translation.[36] Goethe knew well that the metrical form of Shakespeare was not a mere accident, but he wrote his *Götz von Berlichingen* in prose in spite of this fact. With Lenz it was otherwise. His prose *Coriolanus*, 1775, was defensible since it was intended only to demonstrate orally before the "Straßburger deutsche Gesellschaft" one of the theses of his *Anmerkungen über's Theater:* "fabula est una si circa unum sit." His choice of prose for his translation of *Love's Labour's Lost* (*Amor Vincit Omnia*), however, is defensible on no score, for here he undertook to present an unbeautified and unfalsified German equivalent of Shakespeare's work and deliberately elected prose for this romantic comedy. Furthermore, misled by fortune or by Wieland, he used the Pope edition with all its deletions. His translation thus exposes him as an unripe interpreter of Shakespeare. Goethe read Lenz's adaptation with approval:

> Lenz behandelt seinen Autor mit großer Freiheit, ist nichts weniger als knapp und treu, aber er weiß sich die Rüstung oder vielmehr die Possenjacke seines Vorgängers

[34] Keckeis [930] 88–95.
[35] Friedrich [863] 79.
[36] Goethe, *Werke*, I (28) 74.

so gut anzupassen, sich seinen Gebärden so humoristisch gleichzustellen, daß er demjenigen, den solche Dinge anmuteten, gewiß Beifall abgewann.[37]

Shakespeare influenced chiefly the technique and diction of Lenz, who did not plunder Shakespeare of characters, situations, and phrases as crudely as did his contemporary Klinger. In general he appropriated only what was naturally his own and gave it back colored by his personality. That *Hamlet* should have made a deep impression on him foreshadowed his own fate. Yet Shakespeare was his evil genius only in that he led him to carry weapons too heavy for him,[38] and Herder's "Shakespeare hat euch ganz verdorben," was truer of Lenz than of Goethe.

It was also true of Klinger, who in the earliest and best known of his tragedies attempted to endow his characters with Shakespearean passion, but at most could afflict them with melancholia, hysteria, frustration, or a sense of persecution; and of Wagner, to whose plebeian mind the natural was the crude. Klinger has always impressed his readers as a systematic plunderer of Shakespeare. In a review of *Stilpo*, Knigge (signing himself "H") said: "Die Sprache ist verschroben, abgebrochen, schwache Nachahmung von Shakespeares Manier. Aber nur leerer Wortprunk, nichts ausgezeichnet."[39] Schubart called Klinger "unsern Shakespeare,"[40] Hettner called him "den tollgewordenen Shakespeare,"[41] and Pfeffel called him "einen Buben, der eine Hand voll von [Shakespeares] Excrementen gefressen hatte."[42] The many verbal parallels may be condoned a little, when one recalls that, not content with translations, Klinger painfully read Shakespeare in the original with the extensive help of a dictionary. Hence the phrases were deeply impressed upon his memory. "So kam es," Pfeffel said, "daß Klingers Werke gewissermaßen einem Käfig glichen, in dem sich die meisten Motive aus Shakespeare lustig eingefangen hatten."[42]

Critics are agreed that Klinger's dialogue is based in good part on a study of Shakespeare's and of Lessing's technique. His theoretic views regarding the drama are to be found in the introduction to his *Theater*, 1786. They differ in no important respect from Lenz's. Like Lenz and Herder he disparaged the declamatory tragedy of Corneille and Racine. Like Lenz but unlike Herder he condemned the Greek drama as well as the Aristotelian theory *in toto*. He took pleasure in flouting all the unities. His *Otto* calls for fifty-two changes of scenery, *Das leidende Weib* for

[37] *Ibid.*, I (28) 76 f.
[38] Genée [646] 123.
[39] Jacobowski [842] 23.
[40] Strauss, *Schuberts Leben*, Berlin, 1849, I 97.
[41] Hettner, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur im 18. Jahrhundert*, Theil 3, Buch 3, 1, p. 256.
[42] Pfeffel, *Poetische Versuche*, Basel, 1879, I 97.

thirty, *Simsone Grisaldo* for seventeen, *Die neue Arria* for sixteen. The later dramas call for fewer. When needful, however, he was able to use restraint. *Die Zwillinge,* which was written directly for the theater, requires only three changes of scenery. Because Shakespeare often introduced a "Nebenhandlung" Klinger felt called upon to introduce sometimes two or more actions loosely connected with the main plot as well as episodes which were almost totally devoid of such connection. Borrowings of all kinds are most frequent in the works of Klinger's earliest period: *Otto, Das leidende Weib,* and *Die Zwillinge;* they are less frequent in *Die neue Arria, Simsone Grisaldo, Sturm und Drang,* and *Stilpo.* From 1780 on they are rare. To the largest extent Klinger plundered from the best-known tragedies and from *Coriolanus,* to the least extent from the comedies.[43] In the introduction to his *Theater* he says that the English humor does not appeal to the Germans.

In his drama *Otto* the chief character is the "Herzog." It treats of the ruler, his unthankful sons, and the faithful son Otto whom the duke disowns. The characters can be matched with those of *King Lear,* not only in their roles but in their words. To Otto, however, is additionally assigned an Othello role. *Die neue Arria* is similarly modeled on *Romeo and Juliet; Die Zwillinge* is most closely related to *Julius Caesar.* Klinger's *Sturm und Drang* shows traces of Shakespearean dramas but there is less of the all-too-obvious imitation.

Simsone Grisaldo, 1776, was the first comedy which Klinger attempted. Its resemblance to the Shakespearean drama is still less obvious but more essential. The title character occupies as central a position as that of the heroes of Shakespeare's tragedies. He is an Othello without jealousy, a Coriolanus without dreams of grandeur, a personage as well balanced as Henry V, in short a hero without tragic flaw. The characters are arranged on different plateaus, with the serious at the highest level and the comic at the lowest. These latter have their counterparts in Shakespeare's comedies. The punishment of Curio bears a strong resemblance to that of Falstaff, but also to that of Malvolio. The women of the play also resemble the best of Shakespeare's heroines in their steadfastness of purpose and in their readiness to take an initiative. In its genre and in its underlying ideal *Simsone Grisaldo* has been justly compared with Shakespeare's *Tempest.* In all this there is no longer crude imitation. The drama shows rather that Klinger's taste has been educated and his technique unconsciously improved by his absorption of the merits of Shakespeare's genius.[44]

[43] Jacobowski [858] 15–23, 55; Lanz [859] 56–83.
[44] Vermeil, E. *Simson Grisaldo* . . ., Paris, 1913, 152–184.

In view of the similarity of their theories, their like orientation toward Shakespeare, and it should be added, toward Rousseau as well, one might expect the dramas of Klinger and Lenz to be highly similar. That they are so different in total effect is due in good measure to Lenz's close adherence to the models and principles of Diderot and Mercier.

Somewhat later than Hamburg and Vienna, Mannheim gained for itself renown as a Shakespeare city. It came to the fore especially in 1778 and 1779. Eckert was already at work on his amended edition of the Wieland-Eschenburg translation and Gemmingen had completed his *Richard III*, which he had begun out of vexation with Weisse's tragedy on the subject. The Mannheim National-Theater was founded in September 1778, and Dalberg soon became its director. Gemmingen wrote a *Mannheimer Dramaturgie für das Jahr 1779*, a companion piece to Lessing's *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*. Gemmingen, Eckert, and Dalberg were all interested in Shakespeare, though in a sober, rational fashion, but the young "Stürmer und Dränger," Maler Müller lived in Mannheim, 1775–1778, and the most recent historian says: "Wahrscheinlich ist überhaupt er es gewesen, der Shakespear in Mannheim eingeführt und die Begeisterung für ihn dort entfesselt hat."[45] The Seyler company came to Mannheim in October, 1778, and played the Hamburg version of *Hamlet* in November. Gemmingen exclaimed in his journal: "Freuet Euch, Ihr Verehrer des Schönen, des Guten, des Erhabenen, des Vortreflichen! Freuet Euch, wieder ein Schritt zur Vollkommenheit näher! . . . Vater Shakespear kam heute zum ersten Male auf unsere Bühne— Shakespears *Hamlet* ward gespielt." But Mannheim was soon to make its own important contribution to the acceptance of the whole Shakespeare in Germany.

Heinrich Leopold Wagner had gained notoriety rather than fame with his naturalistic dramatization of the Gretchen theme, *Die Kindermörderinn*, but as a critic of the theater he was looked upon with respect. In connection with the *Hamlet* production Gemmingen had demanded an unadulterated, unsoftened Shakespeare, and Wagner was won over to the task of providing a *Macbeth* for the Mannheim stage, the more easily perhaps because of his ire over the Viennese *Macbeth* of Stephanie der Jüngere. It is the particular merit of Wagner, among all the young "Genies" to have shown that Shakespeare unamended and with no concessions to French prescriptions and French taboos was suitable for the German stage. His adaptation demanded in all eighteen changes of scene. Wagner died at the age of thirty-two shortly before the production of his *Macbeth*.

[45] Stahl [670] 39.

Chapter XIX

SHAKESPEARE AND THE GERMAN CLASSIC DRAMATISTS

Having noted how the leading critics of Germany in the eighteenth century opposed Shakespeare, or reconciled themselves to him, or seized upon him as a program, we have still to inquire in what way Lessing, Goethe, and Schiller were actually affected by him in the creation of their dramas. *A priori* we might expect Lessing's debt to be the heaviest, since he was admittedly a liberal borrower. In the concluding number of the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* he wrote:

> Ich fühle die lebendige Quelle nicht in mir, die durch eigene Kraft sich emporarbeitet, durch eigene Kraft in so reichen, so frischen, so reinen Strahlen aufschießt: ich muß alles durch Druckwerk und Röhren aus mir herauf pressen. Ich würde so arm, so kalt, so kurzsichtig seyn, wenn ich nicht einigermaaßen gelernt hätte, fremde Schätze bescheiden zu borgen, an fremdem Feuer mich zu wärmen, und durch die Gläser der Kunst mein Auge zu stärken.[1]

Not only Albrecht, but many less misguided scholars have been normally curious regarding such "fremde Feuer" and "fremde Schätze," but as Lessing warned, Shakespeare's treasures are inalienable:

> Was man von dem Homer gesagt hat, es lasse sich dem Herkules eher seine Keule, als ihm ein Vers abringen, das läßt sich vollkommen auch von Shakespeare sagen. Auf die geringste von seinen Schönheiten ist ein Stämpel gedruckt, welcher gleich der ganzen Welt zuruft; ich bin Shakespeares! Und wehe der fremden Schönheit, die das Herz hat, sich neben ihr zu stellen![2]

To be sure one may borrow from Shakespeare, but only with caution. One may borrow a face, a figure, or at most a group, and make of these an independent unit. "Denn wenn man den Ermel aus dem Kleide eines Riesen für einen Zwerg recht nutzen will, so muß man ihm nicht wieder einen Ermel, sondern einen ganzen Rock daraus machen." No drama of Lessing is the product of such tailoring. At most Lessing borrowed now and then from Shakespeare an episode or a situation. Otto Ludwig noted: "Minna und Franziska sind Portia und Nerissa und der Ring im *Kaufmann* hat herübergewirkt,"[3] and Tellheim, denying that he was a mercenary, said (IV, 6): "O ja, sagen Sie mir doch mein Fräulein, wie kam der Mohr in venetianische Dienste?"

It is not because of any specific borrowings that *Minna von Barnhelm* seems more Shakespearean than its contemporaries. It is the first modern

[1] Lessing, *Schriften*, X 209.
[2] *Ibid.*, X 95 f.
[3] Ludwig, *Schriften*, V 330.

German drama. A chasm separates it from the earlier productions of Lessing and from the moralizing dramas of the time. The latter are often dangerously akin to morality plays, in which virtues and vices are temporarily embodied in human beings. In Brawe's *Freygeist* the spirit of good and the spirit of evil—impersonated in Granville and in Henley—struggle for the soul of Clerdon, and good and evil are similarly impersonated in *Miss Sara Sampson*. The bearers of these evanescent virtues have always to explain themselves. Self-conscious, they appear self-righteous. In *Minna von Barnhelm* and in plays that we recognize as modern, the characters reveal themselves unconsciously and naively. In the development of the drama this is a moment as awesome as that when robots suddenly become human beings. As Brüggemann says:

> Diese fangen auf einmal an, sozusagen, von selber zu laufen, während sie früher nur Schemen waren, die vom Dichter vorwärtsgeschoben werden mußten. Dieser entscheidende Schritt wird mit der *Minna von Barnhelm* getan. Da sind Menschen von Fleisch und Blut, die ein eigenes Leben erfüllt, keine Abstraktionen mehr.[4]

This change he attributes to the newly developing inner life of the middle class. Its individuals had trained themselves to note the operations of their own feelings and those of others. But how can an individual become naïve by any amount of accurate self-observation! It is more probable that Lessing had acquired the new tone in part from the English dramas he had been reading, particularly Shakespeare's. So it seemed to Ebert at the time. He wrote to Lessing: "Selbst die comischen Scenen oder Züge [in *Emilia Galotti*] haben eine ähnliche Empfindung mit der bei mir hervorgebracht, die ich einmal bey Durchlesung der ersten Scene ihrer *Minna* hatte. O Shakespear-Lessing! Zu andern, als Ihnen, würde ich vielleicht noch mehr sagen."[5] And Otto Ludwig noted in *Emilia Galotti* "viel Shakespearsches, z. B. die meisterhafte Emanzipation vom Kathechismus in Dialoge, das Freimachen der Figuren,"[6] but *Emilia Galotti* is essentially more rationalistic and less Shakespearean than *Minna von Barnhelm* and other critics have found it so. In defense of his *Götz* Goethe wrote to Herder: "*Emilia Galotti* ist auch nur gedacht . . . mit halbweg Menschenverstand, kann man das Warum von jeder Scene, von jedem Wort möcht' ich sagen, auffinden,"[7] and even Otto Ludwig had to admit: "Lessing in der *Emilia* hat den Verstand zum Medium zwischen dem Dichter und Zuschauer gemacht."[8] In the measure that

[4] Brüggemann in *Euphorion*, XXVI (1925) 893.
[5] Lessing, *Schriften*, XX 151 f.
[6] Ludwig, *Schriften*, V 328.
[7] Goethe, *Werke*, IV (2) 19.
[8] Ludwig, *Schriften*, V 329.

the characters in *Emilia Galotti* were the bearers of a political idea, their spontaneity suffered. Moreover it must be remembered that its beginnings antedated *Minna* by several years.

Still more definitely "gedacht" is *Nathan der Weise*. Here the characters exist chiefly to represent the merits and defects of their respective religions, and above all the beauty of toleration. It is from *Nathan der Weise* that Gundolf drew his best example of the un-Shakespearean quality of Lessing's style. In the monolog "To be or not to be" each successive wave of thought bears with it a suggestion that rolls into the next one, yet all of them heighten the effect of the ground swell of emotion. For Lessing the monolog of the "Tempelherr" is characteristic. He seems to dissect each thought into its parts and rejoin their parts in the fashion of one debating with himself or an imaginary opponent. It is impossible, Gundolf said, somewhat too drastically, to draw a parallel between Lessing and Shakespeare. "[Sie] haben so wenig mit einander zu tun, wie eine Maschine, wo ein Rad klüglich ins andere greift, mit einem lebendigen Gewächs. Lessings Dramen sind gemacht: kein Wort darin, das nicht seinen Zweck hätte und erfüllte. Shakespeares Werke sind Geburten."[9]

In his speech *Zum Schäkespears Tag* at Frankfurt Goethe exclaimed: "Die erste Seite, die ich in ihm las, machte mich auf Zeitlebens ihm eigen."[10] Obviously Goethe was recapturing his impressions on reading Dodd's *Beauties of Shakespeare* in Leipzig, but he was also recalling his experiences at Strassburg, where so much happened all at once that it was not easy for him to distinguish cause and effect. Here he fell for a time under Herder's personal influence, rediscovered Shakespeare, and discovered his own creative nature as well, and since appreciation and creative self-expression were so nearly identical with him, one may say that it was here that Goethe became "auf Zeitlebens Shakespeare eigen." But in Strassburg two different attitudes toward Shakespeare were in vogue. Herder looked up to him as to a demigod "hoch auf einem Felsengipfel sitzend! zu seinen Füßen Sturm, Ungewitter und Brausen des Meeres; aber sein Haupt in den Strahlen des Himmels."[11] The young geniuses, on the other hand, made him one of themselves, found delight in his quibbles and vied with him "durch Übersetzung . . . ja durch originalen Muthwillen."[12]

There is a little of both these attitudes in Goethe's *Zum Schäkespears Tag*, but more of the latter when Goethe offers himself to Shakespeare as a friend: "Shakespeare, mein Freund, wenn du noch unter uns wärest,

[9] Gundolf [652]² 147, 143.
[10] Goethe, *Werke*, I (37) 130.
[11] Herder, *Werke*, V 208. Cf. Price [324].
[12] Goethe, *Werke*, I (28) 75.

ich könnte nirgend leben als mit dir, wie gern wollt ich die Nebenrolle eines Pylades spielen, wenn du Orest wärst," but he further declared with due veneration:

> Shakespeares Theater ist ein schöner Raritäten Kasten, in dem die Geschichte der Welt vor unsern Augen an dem unsichtbaaren Faden der Zeit vorbeywallt. Seine Plane sind, nach dem gemeinen Styl zu reden, keine Plane, aber seine Stücke drehen sich alle um den geheimen Punckt, den noch kein Philosoph gesehen und bestimmt hat, in dem das Eigenthümliche unsres Ich's, die prätendierte Freyheit unsres Willens, mit dem nothwendigen Gang des Ganzen zusammenstößt.[13]

Under the spell of such a Shakespeare Goethe wrote the first draft of his *Götz von Berlichingen* and sent it to Herder for approval. Herder's long delayed and later lost reply seems to have included the censure: "Shakespeare hat euch ganz verdorben."[14] But Goethe had not surrendered his own individuality to ape Shakespeare. In *Götz* there is much to distinguish the apprentice from his supposed master. Goethe's main characters are more given to contemplation and undramatic meditation than Shakespeare's. Not even the monologue of Hamlet may be cited against this, for the delay of Hamlet was a part of the plot of the drama. Again Goethe's historical conscience was more sensitive than Shakespeare's. For that reason his creative work was restricted to the periods he knew best: classic Greek antiquity, the Renaissance, and the later Middle Ages. Goethe's own *Caesar* remained incomplete, perhaps in part because of his historical conscience. Shakespeare's *Caesar* satisfied him incompletely. "Man sagt er habe Römer vortrefflich dargestellt. Ich finde es nicht, es sind lauter eingefleischte Engländer, aber freilich Menschen sind es von Grund aus."[15] If our first impression of *Julius Caesar* had been derived from seeing it played on the undecorated old English stage we might well agree with him.

Herder had said of Shakespeare: "Er nahm Geschichte, wie er sie fand, und setzte mit Schöpfergeist das verschiedenartigste Zeug zu einem Wunderganzen zusammen,"[16] and Goethe said: "Seine Plane sind, nach dem gemeinen Styl zu reden, keine Plane."[17] With its original title, *Geschichte Gottfriedens von Berlichingen mit der eisernen Hand*, Goethe's drama challenges comparison with Shakespeare's histories, and it is precisely with these dramas that parallels are most frequent,[18] but held together as it is by the Götz-Weislingen plot, *Götz* has as much unity of action as many a historical play of Shakespeare. At first glance *Götz* with

[13] *Ibid.*, I (37) 133.
[14] *Ibid.*, IV (2) 19.
[15] Eckermann, *Gespräche*, 271; January 31, 1827. Cf. Eckert [815] 47 f.
[16] Herder, *Werke*, V 218 f.
[17] Goethe, *Werke*, I (39) 133.
[18] Schöffler [459] 18.

its many changes of scene—fifty-nine in the first version and fifty-six in the second—seems to try to out-Shakespeare Shakespeare, but not out of sheer bravado. In most of the acts a moderate tempo is observed, and there is a definite artistic purpose in the massing of the twenty-two breathless scenes of the third act. At the end of the drama one has the feeling of having lived through many active years of Götz's life, for not only Götz, but also Georg and Karl have visibly aged before our eyes,[19] yet the time elapsed can be reckoned by months instead of by years. Such wizardry with the time element is characteristic of Shakespeare as well.

The language of *Götz* is at times Shakespearean. This is partly affectation on Goethe's part, but partly second nature. The young geniuses at Strassburg had schooled themselves in Shakespeare's manner of thought and expression. The affectation is more restrained in the second version of *Götz*. Despite the Wieland translation, Goethe was not under the illusion that Shakespeare's dramas might well have been written in prose. He chose the more difficult prose form deliberately as being more effective and more hospitable to the quaint turns of the "Lebensbeschreibung." While mindful of Lady Macbeth and Shakespeare's clowns, one may still say that even the characters of Adelheid and Liebetraut are basically original.

No later work of Goethe is as Shakespearean as *Götz*, but Goethe himself included *Egmont* in his Shakespearean epoch. To Eckermann he said: "Ich tat wohl, daß ich durch meinen *Götz von Berlichingen* und *Egmont* ihn mir von Halse schaffte."[20] But what did Goethe conceive to be the essence of the Shakespearean drama? In *Dichtung und Wahrheit* he records: "Durch die fortdauernde Theilnahme an Shakespeare's Werken hatte ich mir den Geist so ausgeweitet, daß mir der enge Bühnenraum und die kurze, einer Vorstellung zugemessene Zeit keineswegs hinlänglich schienen, um etwas Bedeutendes vorzutragen."[21] Breadth of action *Egmont* has in common with the Shakespearean drama and but little more. It is a character drama, and subjectively so, for it represents Goethe's "daimon"-driven conception of himself at the moment it was written. *Iphigenia* and *Tasso* mark distinctly the break from Shakespeare.

Faust with its concept, man ever striving toward higher spiritual realms, with its incorporation of metaphysical forces, with its allegorical significance, is fundamentally un-Shakespearean. *Tempest* alone of Shakespeare's works remotely resembles it and there is no sufficient

[19] Cf. Meyer-Benfey [817] 79 f.
[20] Eckermann, *Gespräche*, 212; December 25, 1825.
[21] Goethe, *Werke*, I (28) 197.

evidence that Shakespeare's philosophic testament ever made a deep impression on Goethe. *Hamlet* had a far-reaching significance in the composition of *Werther*, and *Wilhelm Meister* bears poetic testimony to the impression that *Hamlet* made upon Goethe. Even in the *Theatralische Sendung* Wilhelm had said of Shakespeare's dramas: "Die köstlichen Stücke scheinen das Werk eines himmlischen Genius zu sein, der sich den Menschen nähert, um sie mit sich selbst auf die gelindeste Weise bekannt zu machen."[22]

Goethe felt the dominating influence of Shakespeare throughout his life and referred to him in his later years as "ein Wesen höherer Art, zu dem ich hinaufblicke und das ich zu verehren habe."[23] He said: "Er ist gar zu reich und zu gewaltig. Eine produktive Natur darf alle Jahre nur ein Stück von ihm lesen, wenn sie nicht an ihm zugrunde gehen will."[20] Next after the influence of women Shakespeare was perhaps the most important constant dominant in Goethe's life, and he wrote gratefully of Shakespeare and Frau von Stein:

> Einer Einzigen angehören,
> Einen Einzigen verehren
> Wie vereint es Herz und Sinn!
> Lida! Glück der nächsten Nähe,
> William! Stern der schönsten Höhe,
> Euch verdank' ich, was ich bin;
> Tag' und Jahre sind verschwunden,
> Und doch ruht auf jenen Stunden
> Meines Werthes Vollgewinn.[24]

To use the distinctions of Gundolf again, Lessing had interpreted Shakespeare as a "Vernunftganzes," Goethe as a "Naturganzes," Schiller as a "Moralganzes."[25] An influence of Shakespeare on Schiller was an impossibility from the outset because of their two fundamentally different views of life. Schiller erroneously understood Shakespeare to believe that the things of this earth are but counterparts of the metaphysical order. He read *Macbeth*, *Caesar*, and *Lear* in the belief that they represented the justice of God to man, and thus, he reduced human fate to secondary significance; but precisely this distortion rendered Shakespeare fully acceptable to the German public. The masses were led a step upward toward Shakespeare, and Shakespeare was brought down several stages toward the public.

[22] *Ibid.*, I (52) 160.
[23] Eckermann, *Gespräche*, 17; March 30, 1824.
[24] Goethe, *Werke*, I (3) 45.
[25] Gundolf [652]² 288.

It was Professor Abel of the Karlsschule who first made Shakespeare known to Schiller and he has left a record of the event:

Ich war gewohnt bei Erklärung psychologischer Begriffe Stellen aus Dichtern vorzulesen, um das Vorgetragene anschaulicher und interessanter zu machen; dieses tat ich insbesondere auch, als ich den Kampf der Pflicht mit der Leidenschaft oder einer Leidenschaft mit einer andern Leidenschaft erklärte, welchen anschaulicher zu machen ich einige der schönsten, hierher passenden Stellen aus Shakespeares *Othello* nach der Wielandschen Übersetzung vorlas. Schiller war ganz Ohr, alle Züge seines Gesichts drückten die Gefühle aus, von denen er durchdrungen war, und kaum war die Vorlesung vollendet, so begehrte er das Buch von mir und von nun an las und studierte er dasselbe mit ununterbrochenem Eifer.[26]

Schiller was at once enthralled by the conflicts in the dramas and repelled by Shakespeare's aloofness. As a mature philosopher he confessed in his essay *Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung:*

Als ich in einem sehr frühen Alter [Shakespeare] zuerst kennen lernte, empörte mich seine Kälte, seine Unempfindlichkeit, die ihm erlaubte, im höchsten Pathos zu scherzen, die herzzerschneidenden Auftritte im *Hamlet*, im *König Lear*, im *Macbeth* usf. durch einen Narren zu stören, die ihn bald da festhielt, wo meine Empfindung forteilte, bald da kaltherzig fortriß, wo das Herz so gern stillgestanden wäre. Durch die Bekanntschaft mit neueren Poeten verleitet, in dem Werke, den Dichter zuerst aufzusuchen, seinem Herzen zu begegnen, mit ihm gemeinschaftlich über seinen Gegenstand zu reflektieren; kurz, das Objekt in dem Subjekt anzuschauen, war es mir unerträglich, daß der Poet sich hier gar nirgends fassen ließ und mir nirgends Rede stehen wollte. Mehrere Jahre hatte er schon meine ganze Verehrung und war mein Studium, ehe ich sein Individuum lieb gewinnen lernte. Ich war noch nicht fähig, die Natur aus der ersten Hand zu verstehen. Nur ihr durch den Verstand reflektiertes und durch die Regel zurechtgelegtes Bild konnte ich ertragen, und dazu waren die sentimentalischen Dichter der Franzosen und auch der Deutschen, von den Jahren 1750 bis etwa 1780, gerade die rechten Subjekte. Übrigens schäme ich mich dieses Kinderurteils nicht, da die bejahrte Kritik ein ähnliches fällte und naiv genug war, es in die Welt hineinzuschreiben.[27]

Schiller appears more conscious of such a change of view than have been his critics, who have noted little effect thereof in his dramatic work. His continued moral interpretation has found little mercy at their hands. They record without indignation that the "Sturm und Drang" representatives conceived of Shakespeare as the poet who brooked no rules, that the romanticists conceived of him as the poet of unbridled phantasy, but who is there to condone the error of the humanitarian Schiller in interpreting Shakespeare in the light of the good, the beautiful, and true? Schiller excluded himself from any comparison with Shakespeare. Poets, he said, were by nature, "Bewahrer der Natur," but they fell into groups—the naive and the sentimental. "Sie werden also die Natur sein,

[26] Schiller, *Gespräche*, ed. J. Petersen, Leipzig, 1911, 25.
[27] Schiller, *Werke*, XVII 500.

oder sie werden die verlorene suchen."[28] Hence comparisons between the naive Shakespeare and the sentimental Schiller can only concern themselves with externals.

Schiller's first opportunity to see Shakespeare on the stage came in 1778, when the actor Schikaneder came to Stuttgart with his troupe and played *Richard III*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Hamlet*, and *Lear*. All other models forthwith dropped into the background. *Die Räuber* shows the Shakespearean influence with less affectation than Goethe's *Götz*, for the reason that Schiller had no previously acquired French technique to overcome. In an introduction to *Die Räuber*, 1781, Schiller calls his work "einen dramatischen Roman," thus freeing himself from certain restrictions, as Goethe had with his *Geschichte Gottfriedens von Berlichingen, dramatisiert* and meriting, though not gaining, Goethe's sanction for the form he adopted, yet in reality Schiller no doubt thought of *Die Räuber* as a play, when he declaimed it to his companions by moonlight in the woods about the "Solitude."

The characters of Shakespeare's dramas had already become objective realities to Schiller's mind. In his dissertation, *Versuch über den Zusammenhang der thierischen Natur des Menschen mit seiner geistigen*, he had analyzed the influence of physical disturbances upon the body, using as examples Cassius, Richard III, and Lady Macbeth, treating them as actual cases, and slyly adding to the group his own Franz Moor, citing as his authority the English work, Krake's *Life of Moor*.[29]

In an anonymous criticism of *Die Räuber*, published after it had been played at Mannheim, Schiller claimed for his Franz Moor the sanction of Shakespeare: "Einen überlegenen Schurken dergleichen Franz, der jüngere Moor, ist, auf die Bühne zu bringen . . . heißt mehr gewagt, als das Ansehen Shakespeares, des größten Menschenmalers, der einen Iago und Richard erschuf, entschuldigen . . . kann."[30] Schiller furthermore claimed Richard III as a prototype for Franz in the introduction to *Die Räuber:* "Shakespeares Richard III hat so gewiß am Leser einen Bewunderer, als er auch ihn hassen würde, wenn er ihm vor der Sonne stünde."[31] In the drama itself Richard is also mentioned. Pastor Moser says to Franz (V, 1): "Ich will an Eurem Bette stehen, wenn Ihr sterbet. Hütet Euch dann, o hütet Euch ja, daß Ihr da nicht ausseht, wie Richard und Nero." Elsewhere there are traits of Iago as well in *Die Räuber*, yet with all this ballast Franz is intended to serve as little more than a foil to his nobler and more desperate brother.

[28] *Ibid.*, XVII 449.
[29] *Ibid.*, XVII 133–135.
[30] *Ibid.*, XIX 63 f.
[31] *Ibid.*, IV 51.

Fiesco, too, is related to Shakespeare's tragedies. *Hamlet, Othello, Coriolanus, Julius Caesar* all have left their mark, but the relationship is more elusive. As Petersen has said, it is "mehr die äußeren Gebärden als der innere Schwerpunkt, mehr die Szenerie als die Handlung, mehr das Motiv als die Motivierung."[32] In *Don Carlos* he discovers a third stage of development. In *Die Räuber* we find much of Shakespeare's rhetoric, in *Fiesco* much of his theatrical art, but in *Don Carlos* something of his method of character development,[33] and it is a fact that Schiller borrowed from the library in Meiningen *Othello* and *Romeo and Juliet* by way of preparation for his third drama.[34] Schiller himself admitted: "Carlos hat . . . von Shakespeares Hamlet die Seele, Blut und Nerven von Leisewitz's Julius und den Puls von mir."[35] The disillusioned Schiller in Bauerbach was in a frame of mind to appreciate *Timon of Athens:* "So gewiß ich den Menschen vor allem anderen in Shakespeare aufsuche, so gewiß weiß ich im ganzen Shakespeare kein Stück, wo er wahrhaftiger vor mir stünde, wo er lauter und beredter zu meinem Herzen spräche, wo ich mehr Lebensweisheit lernte, als in *Timon von Athen.*"[36] This helps to account for the fact that Philipp became more than a stereotyped tyrant, that he became a lonely and powerful figure, more than a foil to the melancholy Carlos.

The study of history did not take Schiller away from the drama, since "Weltgeschichte" and "Weltgericht" were for him identical. He divided his history of the Thirty Years' War into dramatic scenes, and he later drew upon its subject matter for a drama, but before he wrote his *Wallenstein* he had studied the philosophy of Kant and had tried to make himself at home in the Greek atmosphere. This occurred in the best days of his friendship with Goethe. The two poets studied Aristotle and Shakespeare together and Schiller proposed a series of versions of Shakespearean plays, particularly the historical dramas, for the Weimar stage. "Der Mühe wäre es wahrhaftig werth . . . Eine Epoche könnte dadurch eingeleitet werden."[37] And Schiller was right, for while Schröder's versions of *Hamlet, Lear,* and *Othello* had simply brought these plays down to the bourgeois level, the production of the historical plays of Shakespeare in Weimar, however badly they may have been mutilated, helped to usher in the classical period of the German drama. They marked a turning point in Schiller's dramatic career. Through them he gained a new conception of Shakespeare, one that he was able to reconcile with the theory

[32] Petersen [888] 151.
[33] *Ibid.*, 152.
[34] Schiller, *Briefe,* I 85.
[35] *Ibid.*, I 115.
[36] Schiller, *Werke,* XVII 172.
[37] Schiller, *Briefe,* V 292.

of Aristotle, and found an answer to the question which seems to have confounded Lessing. In 1781 Schiller had taken exception to Richardson's "abstrakte Menschen."[38] On April 4, 1797, he still found Shakespeare's practice to be in opposition to that of the Greeks, for the Greeks were wont to bring upon the stage more or less idealized masks.[39] Three days later he found that the masses of the people as represented in *Julius Caesar* were poetic abstractions rather than individuals, adding: "und darum finde ich ihn [Shakespeare] hier den Griechen äußerst nah."[40] Toward the end of November he is marveling at Shakespeare's art in using symbols "wo die Natur nicht kann dargestellt werden," and he finds a prime example of this in *Richard III:* "Kein Shakespearisches Stück hat mich so sehr an die griechische Tragödie erinnert."[37]

That was precisely what Schiller sought for his *Wallenstein*—a reconciliation of the Greek drama with the Shakespearean. "Das epische Gedicht von Goethen . . . hat, verbunden mit der Lectüre des Shakespeares und Sophokles, die mich seit mehreren Wochen beschäftigt, auch für meinen *Wallenstein* große Folgen."[41] With the result he was, to be sure, not wholly satisfied: "Das eigentliche Schicksal thut noch zu wenig, und der eigne Fehler des Helden noch zu viel zu seinem Unglück," but he adds: "Mich tröstet hier einigermaaßen das Beyspiel des *Macbeth*, wo das Schicksal ebenfalls weit weniger Schuld hat als der Mensch, daß er zugrunde geht."[42] The numerous parallels of phrases, character, and situation between *Wallenstein* and other Shakespearean plays as well as with *Macbeth* need not be recalled at this point. Köster has said that except perhaps for *Julius Caesar* no other drama of Shakespeare made such a deep impression on Schiller as *Macbeth*.[43] Its imprint may be seen in the beginning, at the height, and at the end of Schiller's literary career.

Undaunted by his failure in *Wallenstein* to find the perfect synthesis of the Greek and Shakespearean drama, Schiller continued his effort in the next four plays, but of these the first and third, *Maria Stuart* and *Die Braut von Messina*, lean toward the Greek drama, while *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* and *Wilhelm Tell* incline toward Shakespeare. To the theme, Joan of Arc, Schiller seems to have been led chiefly by Shakespeare, whom he sometimes parallels closely, or responds to with passage for passage.[44] Of especial interest in *Die Braut von Messina* is the introduc-

[38] See p. 191, above.
[39] Schiller, *Briefe*, V 168.
[40] *Ibid.*, V 173.
[41] *Ibid.*, V 171.
[42] *Ibid.*, V 119 f.
[43] Köster [902] 75.
[44] Cf. *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* I 10, II 10 and *King Henry VI* I 2, III 2.

tion of the old Greek chorus which, Schiller said, might have been used advantageously by Shakespeare, but such a course would have exposed the dramatic poverty of the French tragedy, since the chorus forces the poet "seinem Gemälde die tragische Größe zu geben."[45]

While Schiller was at work on his *Wilhelm Tell*, Schlegel's translation of *Julius Caesar* was performed on the Weimar stage, October 1, 1803.[46] Schiller found in this play "Interesse der Handlung, Abwechslung und Reichtum, Gewalt der Leidenschaft und sinnliches Leben," and added: "Für meinen *Tell* ist mir das Stück von unschäzbarem Wert, mein Schifflein wird auch dadurch gehoben. Er hat mich gleich gestern in die thätigste Stimmung gesetzt."[47]

Thus it will be seen that Schiller was conscious of Shakespeare throughout his dramatic career. In his earliest plays he found in Shakespeare suggestions for characters, situations, and method of dramatic expression. In his final years Shakespeare was for him a problem of inner form never completely solved. The unfinished *Demetrius* would no doubt have brought him nearer to his goal, or at least placed his relation to Shakespeare in a more advantageous light, yet Schiller never understood Shakespeare correctly, and his misunderstanding brought good and harm to the German public. Shakespeare accepted the world as it is, with its meaning only in itself. Schiller understood Shakespeare to agree with him that the things of this earth are but counterparts of a higher world order. This discrepancy has been brilliantly defined by Gundolf:

> Shakespeares Menschen sind . . . Geschöpfe, die aus ihrer Wirklichkeit heraus leidenschaftlich wollen . . . und dadurch mit andern Teilen der Wirklichkeit in Widerstreit geraten. Dieser Widerstreit ist ihr Schicksal. Die Menschen von Schillers Shakespeare sind isolierte Geschöpfe, die entweder gegen oder für jene moralische Weltordnung . . . wollen und handeln und dadurch in Schuld oder Unschuld treten . . . Bei Shakespeare ist die Weltgeschichte der Komplex der Taten, Leiden und Geschicke. Nach Schiller wäre sie das Weltgericht . . .
>
> Shakespeare sah im Untergang keinen Richterspruch, auch kannte er kein Gut und Böse für alle Fälle. . . . Die Moral ist für Shakespeare eine der Wirklichkeiten der Welt wie andere auch, und nicht immer siegreich. Dummheit, Bosheit, Genie, Schönheit, Kraft usw. sind oft gerade so mächtig oder mächtiger. . . . Seine Figuren siegen oder fallen nie, um dem oder jenem Sittengesetz zu genügen, sondern weil der Kampf zwischen Wirklichkeiten ein erschütterndes, erhebendes oder erheiterndes Schauspiel ist für den Gott. . . . Man muß schon völlig durch Schillerische Aesthetik verbildet, unbefangenen Gefühls beraubt sein, wenn man am Schluß des *Cäsar*, des *Antonius*, des *Lear* statt der tragischen Erhebung oder Erschütterung über die Großheit, Gewalt und Furchtbarkeit des Weltgeschehens ein moralisches Behagen empfindet über die göttliche Gerechtigkeit. . . . Doch Schiller las alle diese Stücke in dem Sinn als handle es sich um einen Prozess zwischen Gut und Böse, der vor dem Richterstuhl der sittlichen Nemesis sich abspiele.[48]

[45] Schiller, *Werke*, Stuttgart, 1904, XVI 126.
[46] Cf. p. 266 f., below.
[47] Schiller, *Briefe*, VII 81.
[48] Gundolf [652]^{2} 290–293.

Schiller, Gundolf said, "verwandelte alles, was [bei Shakespeare] Urkraft oder Gestalt war, in Ideen, in ein Mittelding zwischen Leben und Denken." It was this which brought Shakespeare part way down to the level of the people and elevated the people part way up to Shakespeare's height:

> Was Goethes *Götz* nicht vermocht, geschweige Herders Werben noch Lessings Fackel noch Wielands und Eschenburgs Dolmetschung noch Schröders entgegenkommende Verstümmelung: das haben Schillers Dramen vermocht. Durch Schiller haben erst die Deutschen in ihrer Gesamtheit Licht und Wärme der dramatischen Zentralsonne empfangen.[49]

Seven months after Goethe became director of the theater in Weimar he presented on the stage, November 29, 1791, *Leben und Tod des Königs Johann*. It was the first production of this tragedy in Germany and also of any Shakespearean play in Germany without adaptation. A few all-too-free passages were stricken out and minor portions of minor roles, but the text was essentially Shakespeare's own. For the role of Prince Arthur, Goethe trained personally the fourteen-year-old Christiane, the orphan daughter of the actor Neumann. Goethe himself played the part of Hubert. Our chief record of the play is Goethe's poem "Euphrosyne," written on the occasion of Christiane's early death in 1797.[50] The script of the play was lost with the burning of the Weimar theater, March, 1825. The basis of the production was the prose of Eschenburg. The verse translations of Schlegel had not begun to appear. *Henry IV*, parts one and two, were played on separate evenings, April 14 and 21, 1792. The records of these performances were also burned, and nothing definite can be said regarding the extent of Goethe's adaptation.

For the same reason as little can be said of the production of *King Lear*, June 18, 1796, according to the version of Schröder, but some inferences may be drawn from Goethe's impatience with the tragic flaw in Lear's character. Schröder omitted the introductory scene and thereby changed the whole character of the play, but Goethe says:

> Er hatte doch recht. Denn in dieser Scene erscheint Lear so absurd, daß man seinen Töchtern in der Folge nicht ganz Unrecht geben kann. Der Alte jammert einen, aber Mitleid hat man nicht mit ihm, und Mitleid wollte Schröder erregen, sowie Abscheu gegen die zwei unnatürlichen, aber doch nicht durchaus zu scheltenden Töchter.[51]

Even in his Mannheim days Schiller had hoped for a verse translation of Shakespeare's plays and had thought of making the beginning himself. He was overjoyed when he heard of Schlegel's undertaking and published

[49] *Ibid.*, 288.
[50] Goethe, *Werke*, I (1:1) 281.
[51] *Ibid.*, I (41) 69.

a fragment of the new translation in the *Horen*, 1796. Schiller wrote to Schlegel: "Der Gedanke ist sehr glücklich, und der Himmel lohne es Ihnen, daß Sie uns von dem traurigen Eschenburg befreyen wollen."[52] Not Weimar, however, but Berlin was the first city to produce a Shakespearean play in Schlegel's version, but Iffland's production of *Hamlet* in Berlin, October 15, 1799, was not an unqualified success. Iffland was well cast as Polonius but no adequate Hamlet was available. Critics and public accepted the production coolly and the direction presently returned to Schröder's version.

Goethe was eager to present a Shakespearean tragedy in verse form. *Macbeth* was the first choice and Schiller undertook to prepare the text. The version was first played May 14, 1800. Gundolf calls it

> eine Mustersammlung um die wesentlichen Unterschiede zwischen Schillers und Shakespeares Sprache zu vergegenwärtigen. Nirgends ergeht sich Schillers Trieb, alles was bei Shakespeare Leidenschaft ist, als Moral zu lesen, was Ausdruck von Wesen ist, zur Beziehung auf das Ideal umzumünzen, freier und wohlgefälliger.[53]

Yet Schiller's version was played in Berlin, Vienna, and in nearly all important cities of Germany and it gained a popularity that a faithful version could not have found. Perhaps it was because of this that Schlegel postponed until too late a translation of the tragedy.

Goethe was more than ever convinced that the verse form was mandatory. *Julius Caesar* was available in Schlegel's translation. With unprecedented care the preparations were made, and the play was produced October 1, 1803, to the entire satisfaction of Goethe, Schiller, and the public. The production marks the high point in the Shakespearean presentations under Goethe's directorate. Close fidelity to the text seems to have been observed. Iffland, in Berlin, heard of the success and wrote to Schlegel for advice as to adaptation. Schlegel referred the question to Goethe and Goethe replied:

> Bey der unendlich zarten Zweckmäßigkeit dieses Stücks, in die man sich so gern versenkt, scheint kein Wort entbehrlich, so wie man nichts vermißt, was das Ganze fordert, und doch wünscht man, zur äußern theatralischen Zweckmäßigkeit, noch hie und da durch Nehmen und Geben nachzuhelfen. Doch liegt, wie bei Shakespeare überhaupt Alles schon in der Grundanlage des Stoffs und der Behandlung, daß, wie man irgendwo zu rücken anfängt, gleich mehrere Fugen zu knistern anfangen und das Ganze den Einsturz droht.[54]

The changes which Goethe made are more precisely indicated in the same letter to Schlegel, October 27, 1803.

Goethe next undertook a presentation of *Othello*, which had not been

[52] Schiller, *Briefe*, IV 427.
[53] Gundolf [652]^{2} 308.
[54] Goethe, *Werke*, IV (16) 337 f.

translated by Schlegel. Heinrich Voss prepared a translation especially intended for the production. Schiller participated in the work. Voss reports: "Wir gingen gemeinschaftlich das Ganze durch, besprachen jede schwierige Stelle mit kritischer Umständlichkeit, fochten an, verteidigten, änderten, bis er endlich ungefähr die jetzige Gestalt erhielt."[55] The tragedy was presented June 8, 1805 "nach den Forderungen des Theaters und der Decenz, so weit es nöthig war, umgeändert."[56] Moreover Iago, as a foil to Othello, was made a more perfect villain. Schiller would doubtless have been pleased with the result had he lived to attend its première.

In 1806 Goethe placed on the program for the second time *King John*, this time in Schlegel's translation, and in 1809 *Hamlet* in Schlegel's translation. His actual participation was less than might have been expected of the author of *Wilhelm Meister*. He attended neither the rehearsals nor the first performance.

Goethe had planned a production of *Romeo and Juliet* in 1797, based on Schlegel's translation. The death of "Euphrosyne" (Christine Neumann) interrupted his plan. Toward the end of 1811 he determined to carry it through. He conducted the rehearsals personally and with vigor from December, 1811, to January, 1812, as may be seen from his "Tagebücher." The performance was a great success in Weimar and was copied by Iffland in Berlin. In the course of time it has become as thoroughly condemned as Schiller's "*Macbeth*-Bearbeitung." In "Shakespeare und kein Ende," Goethe wrote:

> [Shakespeare] zerstört . . . den tragischen Gehalt . . . beinahe ganz durch die zwei komischen Figuren, Mercutio und die Amme . . . Betrachtet man die Ökonomie des Stücks recht genau, so bemerkt man, daß diese beiden Figuren, und was an sie gränzt, nur als possenhafte Intermezzisten auftreten, die uns bei unserer folgerechten, Übereinstimmung liebenden Denkart auf der Bühne unerträglich sein müssen.[57]

In Goethe's production the nurse and Mercutio were decharacterized. Goethe omitted the opening scene which accounts for Romeo's frame of mind at the outset, the final scene representing the reconciliation of the hostile houses, and in fact everything that did not pertain directly to the "Haupthandlung" as he conceived it. He even omitted Juliet's apparent death. Goethe found great pleasure in the adaptation: "Diese Arbeit war ein großes Studium für mich, und ich habe wohl niemals dem Shakespeare tiefer in sein Talent hineingeblickt, aber er, wie alles Letzte bleibt denn doch unergründlich."[58] Nevertheless Goethe felt some mis-

[55] *Othello*, trsl. Voss, Jena, 1806, 75.
[56] Schiller, *Briefe*, VII 234.
[57] Goethe, *Werke*, I (41) 67 f.
[58] Riemer, *Mittheilungen über Goethe*, Berlin, 1841, II 655 f.

givings for he wrote to Cotta in February, 1812: "Für den Druck ist das Stück nicht geeignet; auch möchte ich denen abgöttischen Übersetzern und Conservatoren Shakspeares nicht gerne einen Gegenstand hingeben, an dem sie ihren Dünkel auslassen können."[59] It is difficult to believe that Goethe really thought he could produce his version of *Romeo and Juliet* on the Weimar stage and yet escape the criticism of the romanticists.

Goethe's most creative effort in Shakespearean adaptation never bore fruit for the Weimar theater. It is of course true that Goethe treated of Wilhelm Meister's views on *Hamlet* with his pervading mild irony, yet much of the criticism must be recognized as Goethe's own, including his characterization of Hamlet: "Eine große That auf eine Seele gelegt, die der That nicht gewachsen ist . . . Hier wird ein Eichbaum in ein köstliches Gefäß gepflanzt, das nur liebliche Blumen in seinen Schoß hätte aufnehmen sollen; die Wurzeln dehnen sich aus, das Gefäß wird zernichtet."[60]

The chief fault Goethe found in the exposition of *Hamlet* was the complicated action. For the several motives he wished to substitute the unrest in Norway which, more clearly defined, should usurp the place of all other darkly hinted background conditions.[61] On the basis of Wilhelm Meister's suggestions, August von Klingemann, the director of the Brunswick theaters, produced a new version of *Hamlet* for his stage in 1814, which met with only qualified approval.

Believing in the infallibility of *Wilhelm Meister*, the romanticists accepted the hero's interpretation of *Hamlet* without question. August Wilhelm Schlegel regarded it as the last word on the subject. Anything more would be an "Iliad after Homer,"[62] but the romanticists still cherished a grudge because of Goethe's adaptations of Shakespeare on the Weimar stage. As late as 1823 Tieck wrote of Goethe's version of *Romeo and Juliet:*

> Es ist überhaupt nur einem so großen Dichter wie jenem erlaubt und zu vergeben, wenn er das Meisterwerk eines anderen grausam behandelt, wie mit diesem Trauerspiel wirklich geschehen ist, in welchem man vom Original nur wenig wiederfindet und selbst das, was noch dasteht, durch die sonderbaren Umänderungen in einem ganz andern Lichte erscheint, und seine wahre Bedeutung verloren hat.[63]

The opposition of the romanticists called out Goethe's defense, *Shakespeare und kein Ende*, in three parts: "Shakespeare als Dichter

[59] Goethe, *Werke*, IV (22) 286.
[60] *Ibid.*, I (24) 76.
[61] *Ibid.*, I (22) 159 f.
[62] A. W. Schlegel, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. E. Böcking, Leipzig, 1844, VII 32.
[63] Tieck, *Kritische Schriften*, Leipzig, 1848–1852, III 175.

überhaupt," and "Shakespeare verglichen mit den Alten und den Neuesten," 1815; and "Shakespeare als Theaterdichter," 1826. In the first part Goethe emphasized Shakespeare's insight into the human soul, but said: "Shakespeare spricht durchaus an unsern innern Sinn."[64] Hamlet's ghost and Macbeth's witches were better so perceived than on the stage. There was no higher pleasure than that of listening with closed eyes to Shakespeare's plays well read. The second part reminds the romanticists that Shakespeare was interested in the actualities of this world rather than in its hidden mysteries.

Denn wenn auch Wahrsagung und Wahnsinn, Träume, Ahnungen, Wunderzeichen, Feen und Gnomen, Gespenster, Unholde und Zauberer ein magisches Element bilden, das zur rechten Zeit seine Dichtungen durchschwebt, so sind doch jene Truggestalten keineswegs Hauptingredienzien seiner Werke, sondern die Wahrheit und Tüchtigkeit seines Lebens ist die große Base, worauf sie ruhen; deßhalb uns alles was sich von ihm herschreibt, so echt und kernhaft erscheint.[65]

The third part returns to the thesis that Shakespeare was not, after all, a practical model for the theatrical writer:

Sein großes Talent ist das eines Epitomators, und da der Dichter überhaupt als Epitomator der Natur erscheint, so müssen wir auch hier Shakespeare's großes Verdienst anerkennen, nur läugnen wir dabei und zwar zu seinen Ehren, daß die Bühne ein würdiger Raum für sein Genie gewesen.[66]

But before Goethe's death the production of Shakespeare's plays was so far improved that Goethe was able to agree with the romanticists, more specifically with Tieck:

Wo ich ihn [Tieck] ferner auch sehr gerne antreffe, ist, wenn er als Eiferer für die Einheit, Untheilbarkeit, Unantastbarkeit Shakespeare's auftritt und ihn ohne Redaction und Modification von Anfang bis zu Ende auf das Theater gebracht wissen will. Wenn ich vor zehn Jahren der entgegengesetzten Meinung war und mehr als Einen Versuch machte, nur das eigentlich Wirkende aus den Shakespeare'schen Stücken auszuwählen, das Störende aber und Umherschweifende abzulehnen, so hatte ich, als einem Theater vorgesetzt, ganz recht. . . . Nun [aber] sind Schauspieler so gut wie Dichter und Leser in dem Falle, nach Shakespeare hinzublicken und durch ein Bemühen nach dem Unerreichbaren ihre eignen innern, wahrhaft natürlichen Fähigkeiten aufzuschließen.[67]

[64] Goethe, *Werke*, I (41:1) 54.
[65] *Ibid.*, 57 f.
[66] *Ibid.*, 67; cf. Eckermann, *Gespräche*, 212; December 25, 1825.
[67] Goethe, *Werke*, I (40) 179 f.

Chapter XX

SHAKESPEARE SINCE 1800

The well informed no longer attribute the "rediscovery" of Shakespeare in the eighteenth century to German scholarship, but they do not minimize its real contribution. Since the time of Herder, Germany has done more than any other nation to make his dramas a vital factor of modern life. There the study of Shakespeare is most ardently prosecuted; there his plays are most frequently produced and most appreciatively and critically received by people of varying degrees of education. No other nation has produced such notable adherents of Shakespeare as Herder, Goethe, and Schiller, nor has Shakespeare at any time or place more nearly established a cult than with the "Stürmer und Dränger" and the romanticists, whose influence was felt even in England.

The course of Shakespearean interpretation since 1800 has been largely dominated by the program of the romanticists, most of whose work was intended only for the élite, but they sought to render Shakespeare accessible to all their countrymen and thereby to lift them out of the mediocrity of the time. Their efforts were successful: Shakespeare's sayings have become as proverbial in Germany as in England;[1] his words and themes have been utilized by German composers; and especially since the time of Tieck he has appeared as a figure in German novels, stories, and dramas.[2]

In order to carry out their program the romanticists engaged themselves simultaneously on three fronts: against the rationalists, who saw in Shakespeare the typification of formlessness; against the adherents of the "Sturm und Drang" movement, who declined to recognize Shakespeare as a conscious artist; and against Goethe and Schiller with their diluted productions in Weimar. The last-named contest was the urgent one, for the earlier oppositions were already on the wane. Yet Goethe, Schiller, and the romanticists were at bottom allies in that they represented the forces that had overcome rationalism. For the romanticists Shakespeare was the typical romantic poet. To use Gundolf's terms, he appealed to them "als der universale Phantast (Tieck), als der universale Denker und Ironiker (Friedrich Schlegel), als der Sprachmeister schlechthin (August Wilhelm Schlegel)."[3] Tieck thus appears as the suc-

[1] Leo [678].

[2] E. g. Tieck's two "Novellen," *Ein Dichterleben*, 1825, and *Der Dichter und sein Freund*, 1829. Of dramas by better-known dramatists: *Die Sommernacht*, a fragment by Tieck, 1789, first published in 1851; *Shakespeare in der Heimat oder die Freunde* by Holtei, 1840; *William Shakespeare* by Lindner, 1864; *Christoph Marlowe* by Wildenbruch, 1884; and *Shakespeare* by Bleibtreu, 1907. Cf. Ludwig in ShJ LIV (1918) 1–22.

[3] Gundolf [652]² 333.

cessor, in certain respects, of Wieland and Maler Müller, and Friedrich Schlegel as the successor of Lessing. August Wilhelm Schlegel was without a real predecessor but his translation presupposes a Goethe and a romantic school. "Durch Goethe ward die deutsche Sprache erst reich genug, Shakespeare auszudrücken, durch die romantische Schule frei genug, durch Schlegel entsagend genug."[4]

The translation of Shakespeare was but the foundation of a greater work, part of which the romanticists completed and part of which occupied the attention of their successors throughout the nineteenth century. They planned a philological and critical edition of Shakespeare anticipating Delius, and a literary-historical edition anticipating Ulrici; they planned a study of Shakespeare's time in order to understand him better, and they undertook a study of his life in order to gain a picture of his development as an artist and to determine, if possible, the sequence of his works. Still more important to them was the esthetic and philosophic interpretation of Shakespeare. They neglected no means to carry out their program. In the journals they conducted a campaign against their German opponents and against incapable English commentators and editors. They sought to control Shakespearean production on the stage in order that the stage should be adapted to Shakespeare, not Shakespeare to the stage. They criticized stage decoration, actors, and costumes, according praise where it was due. They gained the universities for their cause, without much effort, but with the stage and the people they were less successful. To compensate for this Tieck held Shakespeare evenings in which Shakespeare was read, unabbreviated, unrevised, and unrefined.

The Schlegel-Tieck-Dorothea Tieck-Baudissin translation of Shakespeare, popularly called the Schlegel-Tieck translation, has established itself firmly in public favor in Germany. Its phraseology has become a part of the common cultural possession of the land and is felt to be as sacred as the texts of Homer or Goethe, despite the fact that its canonicity will not stand the test of critical examination of the original drafts of the manuscript. The first impulse to this translation dates back to 1789 when August Wilhelm Schlegel was a student at Göttingen and a close friend of Bürger, then a professor there. The two met often and worked together on a metrical translation of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*[5] but, as Schlegel himself testified, no part of this product went into his later work,[6] for by 1797 he had formed a new conception of Shakespeare and of the proper form of translation.[7]

[4] *Ibid.*, 351 f.
[5] Wurzbach, *G. A. Bürger*, Leipzig, 1900, 265 f.
[6] Bernays [782] 111.
[7] Schlegel [797].

Between 1797 and 1801 Schlegel translated no less than thirteen important dramas of Shakespeare.[8] Eight years elapsed and then came *Richard III*, followed by another long pause. Meanwhile, as early as 1806, Voss had translated *Othello* and *King Lear*, two dramas which Schlegel had as yet neglected. After Schlegel's second pause, Voss and his assistants resumed their work much to the vexation of Schlegel,[9] who therefore ought to have been gratified when Tieck[10] expressed his willingness to continue Schlegel's work. Tieck fell heir to some of the dramas that were rhythmically most difficult to render. Gundolf said, and who should know better: "An *Coriolanus* oder *Macbeth*, an *Antonius und Cleopatra* oder an *Troilus und Cressida* wäre wohl auch Schlegel beim damaligen Stande der deutschen Sprache gescheitert."[11] Tieck called to his assistance his daughter Dorothea, and when the work began to lag again, a second helper, Graf Wolf von Baudissin.[12] By 1833 the work was completed.

Schlegel's part of the translation is the most masterly but even his is impeachable. There are errors of his own in it and errors of the printers, for Schlegel never corrected the final proofs. The manuscripts, which are still accessible for study, show that Schlegel offered frequently a choice of translations and left it to Karoline Schlegel to select from these or to alter at her discretion. They show further a propensity on her part to choose or alter unwisely.[13] In the printed dramas *Cäsar*, *Was ihr wollt*,

[8] Schlegel's translations: I. (1797) *Sommernachtstraum* and *Romeo und Julia;* II. (1797) *Julius Cäsar* and *Was ihr wollt;* III. (1798) *Sturm* and *Hamlet;* IV–V. (1799) *Der Kaufmann von Venedig, Wie es euch gefällt, König Johann*, and *Richard II;* VI. (1800) *Heinrich IV;* VII–VIII. (1801) *Heinrich V* and *Heinrich VI*.

[9] Schlegel received word from his brother: "der alte Voß wolle mit seinem Sohn [*sic*] Johann Heinrich und Abraham, vermutlich auch mit seinen Schwiegersöhnen, Enkeln, gebornen und ungebornen, mit Einem Worte der ganzen Übersetzungs-Schmiede-Sippschaft, auch die von mir schon übersetzten Stücke neu übersetzen. Dies ist freilich eine große Impertinenz: allein wir haben kein ausschließendes Privilegium; es kommt darauf an, wie das Publicum die Sache nimmt." *Briefe von und an A. W. Schlegel*, ed. J. Körner, Wien, 1930, II 109. Cf. Genée [1013] 12 f.

[10] But cf. Zeydel [1313] 17 ff.

[11] Gundolf [652]² 189.

[12] Baudissin had already translated *Henry VIII*, 1818. In the division of the work *Coriolanus, Two Gentlemen of Verona, Timon of Athens, The Winter's Tale, Cymbeline*, and *Macbeth* fell to the share of Dorothea Tieck. To Baudissin's lot fell *Love's Labour's Lost* (the lyric passages by Dorothea Tieck), *Much Ado about Nothing, The Taming of the Shrew, Henry VIII, Measure for Measure, Antony and Cleopatra, Titus Andronicus, Comedy of Errors, Troilus and Cressida, The Merry Wives of Windsor, Othello*, and *King Lear*.

[13] Conrad [1025] discusses Karoline's mistreatment of Schlegel's manuscript under the captions: "Sprachfehler, Denkfehler, richtige Übersetzungen der Handschrift falsch in der ersten Ausgabe, mangelhafte Auswahl bei mehrfachen Fassungen Schlegels, unverständliche kleine Änderungen des Manuskripts, Auslassungen aus dem Manuskript, Schlegels Übersetzungsfehler unverbessert." After 58 pages, devoted to these topics, follow four pages devoted to "wirkliche Besserungen von Karolinens Hand." In the four dramas investigated he finds about 30 improvements made by Karoline and about 331 instances in which she chose unwisely or altered for the worse.

Sturm, and *Hamlet* there are hundreds of renderings not found in Schlegel's manuscript.

Still weaker is the defense for Tieck's continuation. His actual participation in the translation was largely of a supervisory nature. The manuscripts and correspondence still extant show that Baudissin prepared the original draft of all plays assigned to him and submitted them for criticism to Tieck, who made some improvements, but sometimes imposed a worse translation upon Baudissin. Only in one play do we find the actual phrasing of Tieck in continuity. This is in the first three acts of *Love's Labour's Lost,* with which comedy Tieck had planned to assist Schlegel as early as 1800. Baudissin adopted a large part of Tieck's translation without change.[14] Dorothea Tieck "learned by doing." In a letter to a friend she wrote somewhat naively: "Auch bei den Stücken, die Baudissin übersetzt hat, habe ich fast immer den Korrigierstunden beigewohnt und dadurch viel English gelernt."[15] Despite merits as a translator she was notably unsuccessful in her *Macbeth,* which has failed to satisfy the demands of critics, actors, editors and readers. Dorothea Tieck has been unduly blamed for the shortcomings of her translation. Lacking the necessary books of reference and working under pressure she finished her work in six weeks. Furthermore there is evidence still available which shows conclusively that her father rather than Dorothea was responsible for many of the unfortunate translations.[16]

Despite recognized shortcomings the Schlegel-Tieck translation was long regarded as final. A twelve-volume translation of 1839, representing the combined efforts of A. Böttger, H. Döring, A. Fischer, L. Hilsenberg, W. Lampadius, Th. Mügge, Th. Oelkers, E. Ortlepp, O. Pietz, K. Simrock, E. Süsemihl, and E. Theim, did not seriously challenge its position.

The year 1864 found Dingelstedt as "Intendant" of the Weimar Hoftheater. He planned to celebrate the three-hundredth anniversary of Shakespeare's death by two accomplishments: First, a "Deutsche Shakespeare-Gesellschaft" should be founded, and second a new and better Shakespeare translation should be achieved by the joint efforts of the best adapted men of letters. For this effort he had begun laying plans as early as 1858. He proposed:

> Man überweise die Stücke nach Gruppen an die Dichter nach der besonderen Richtung eines jeden oder nach Schulen und Gesellschaften. Freiligrath, der Meister im Übersetzen, Herwegh, Kinkel, mögen durch die historischen Dramen stürmen, Wien und Berlin die Lustspiele, die Dresdener und Münchener Poeten die Tragödien übernehmen; für die Sagenkündigen Rheinländer und Schwaben bleiben die Märchen, die epischen Dichtungen.[17]

[14] Wetz [1018] 322; Bernays [1004] 551; Lüdeke [1036] 28.
[15] Quoted by Wetz [1018] 350.
[16] Winter [1033].
[17] Quoted by Schoof [989] 137 f.

Freiligrath, then in exile in England, restricted his future coöperation, which, however, did not take place:

> Doch habe ich von vornherein erklärt, daß ich unter keiner Bedingung irgend eins der bereits von Schlegel übersetzten Stücke übernehmen könne! Schlegels Shakespeare ist zu tief in Saft und Blut des deutschen Volkes gedrungen, als daß es nötig wäre und gelingen könnte, ihn durch neue Übersetzungen zu ersetzen.[18]

Dingelstedt had first to make his peace with Gutzkow. Dingelstedt had recently written: "Das jungdeutsche Tendenzdrama weiß nichts von Shakespeare." Gutzkow, who had just written his *Hamlet in Wittenberg* and as "Intendant" at Dresden had produced several Shakespearean plays, showed his resentment yet promised future coöperation, but before long, Dingelstedt and Gutzkow were again at odds. Other efforts also came to naught. It is doubtful whether Kinkel or Feodor Wehl ever responded to the invitation. Hebbel considered favorably a translation of *King Lear*. That he did not accomplish it was apparently due to Dingelstedt's failure to answer his letters.[19]

Herwegh alone of the group, as first planned, completed his contribution, *Coriolanus*, nine years after it was first projected. By that time, 1867, Ulrici was president of the "Gesellschaft" and insisted on absolute authority to alter lines. Much was altered for the worse. Ulrici so affronted Dingelstedt and Herwegh that both withdrew from the Deutsche Shakespeare-Gesellschaft and its projected translation.

Dingelstedt now pursued his plan independently and completed it in ten volumes in 1867, for which he prepared four dramas himself. His coöperators were W. Jordan, L. Seeger, Karl Simrock, and H. Viehoff. None of these had been thought of at the inception of the project.

Almost simultaneously there appeared two other translations:

(1) *Shakespeares dramatische Werke* nach der Übersetzung von Aug. W. Schlegel und L. Tieck, sorgfältig revidiert und teilweise neu bearbeitet, mit Einleitungen und Noten versehen, unter der Redacktion von H. Ulrici hrsg. durch die Deutsche Shakespeare-Gesellschaft, Berlin, 1867–1871; 12 Bde.

(2) *William Shakespeares dramatische Werke*, übersetzt von Fr. Bodenstedt, N. Delius, G. Gildemeister, G. Herwegh, Paul Heyse, Hermann Kurz, Adolf Wilbrandt, mit Einleitungen und Anmerkungen hrsg. von Fr. Bodenstedt, Leipzig, 1867–71; 9 Bde. (2. Aufl. 1873; 3. Aufl. 1878–79.)

These new translations were timely. Friedrich Schlegel had asserted: "Shakespeares Universalität ist der Mittelpunkt der romantischen Kunst."[20] The new antiromantic generation was unwilling to concede such exclusive possession, but found it difficult to establish a counter

[18] *Ibid.*, 147.
[19] *Ibid.*, 155, 148 f.
[20] *Athenaeum*, Fragment no. 147.

claim. The "Jungdeutschen" insisted that literature should serve the needs of its time and the prime need to their minds was democracy. Grabbe made a direct attack with his *Ueber die Shakespearomanie*. Herwegh more diplomatically tried to assimilate Shakespeare to the cause. He could not assert that Shakespeare was "bürgerlich," but at least he stressed the value of the human being, and that in itself was helpful. *Coriolanus* was a logical first choice for translation. He interpreted the drama as representing a struggle between the aristocratic conception of government and the popular. To be sure, the translation was not as effective as he had hoped.[21]

In accord with the principles of his group Herwegh laid more stress on realism and popular appeal than on beauty for its own sake. With his *Coriolanus* and the seven plays he translated for Bodenstedt he made the largest single contribution to the new movement. His translations are less literary than Schlegel's, but more faithful to the text than Dorothea Tieck's and Baudissin's. He strove to free the originals from too abstruse literary allusions and to express the ideas with the utmost clarity. His accompanying notes are neither esthetic nor politically propagandic, except that he does not refrain from an occasional thrust at the romanticists.[22]

Further attempts to alter radically the German texts of Shakespeare awaited the coming of the next century, but meanwhile the method of stage presentation of the plays was changing with the changing times. We may take the productions at Weimar as the starting point. Goethe and Schiller believed in verse production. Here they agreed with Schlegel. They insisted upon the preservation of the tragic element, however much the public grieved. Here they were more steadfast than Schröder. They believed in adaptation—a liberal use of the censoring pen for the sake of propriety or as concessions to the limitations of the stage. Here they were in accord with Schröder. The tampering with the text might go so far as to denaturize the play completely as in Goethe's adaptation of *Romeo and Juliet* or Schiller's of *Macbeth*. The weakened versions of Goethe, Schiller, Schröder, and even of less-gifted adaptors held their own well past the middle of the century. Vienna, Braunschweig, Düsseldorf became active centers of Shakespeare production under the directions respectively of Schreyvogel, 1814–1832, Klingemann, 1814–1828, and Immermann, 1832–1837. All made use of the verse translation of Voss for *King Lear*. Schreyvogel was hampered by restrictions of censorship. Immermann was the first to present in full its tragic conclusion.[23]

[21] A. Brandl in ShJ, XXXVII (1901) liii.
[22] Kayser [996] 234 f., 236 f.
[23] Altman [975].

A bright episode during these years was the series of Shakespearean productions by Ludwig Devrient in Berlin, 1815–1832. There followed a stretch of rather unproductive years. Heinrich Laube strove against censorship in Vienna during the early part of his directorship, 1849 ff., but eventually was disheartened by an unappreciative public. The Shakespeare tricentennial gave a new impetus to productions. Dingelstedt in Vienna produced the whole series of chronicle dramas, April 23–30, thus taking up a project which Goethe and Schiller had discussed and which Grabbe had urged in vain for Düsseldorf. In Karlsruhe, Edward Devrient, the nephew of Ludwig, was director in 1864. From August of that year until May, 1865, he produced a new play of Shakespeare every fortnight, twenty plays in all. Shortly after this Wilhelm Oechelhäuser came to the fore as an adaptor of Shakespearean plays. His principle was the closest possible adherence to the original text. His versions were widely accepted in Germany. In Berlin they were taken up one hundred and fifty times during 1873–1877.

In Coburg, the director, Friedrich Haase, produced *Hamlet* in 1868, attempting to introduce the stage decoration and costuming he had seen in use by Charles Keane in London. This proved to be a turning point in the development of Shakespearean production in Germany. One of the spectators was the Duke of Meiningen. Filled with enthusiasm, he directed his company of players toward Shakespeare. Star acting was to be discountenanced. Every minor actor was drilled in his part. The utmost historical exactitude in costuming was to be observed and the stage to be set with meticulous precision even at the expense of the waiting public. After his players had attained what he regarded as near perfection they accepted calls to other theaters. These tours continued from 1875 to 1890 and set the standard for Shakespearean production throughout Germany. A reaction finally set in based in part on the feeling that historical exactitude was not the essential in Shakespeare's dramas. For a time the Shakespeare stage came into favor. Then the meticulously historical stage of the Meininger, the romantic stage of Italian descent, and the neutral Shakespearean stage all went into the discard and the type of staging to which Max Reinhardt has given his name became the vogue.

Shortly before this time in England, Edward Gordon Craig began designing Shakespeare sets contrived to transform the stage into a fairy land. Color and design were revised not to imitate reality but to accentuate the moods of the drama. The production of *Das Wintermärchen* in the "Deutsches Theater" in Berlin, September 16, 1906, revealed the fact that Max Reinhardt was pursuing a like aim.[24] Reinhardt's stage was admired and imitated in the period of the impressionists and the neo-

[24] Marx [1123] 56.

romanticists. For about twenty-five years, 1905–1930, this tendency prevailed. Some critics contended that it was leading to the triumph of stage decoration over acting, and attempts were made to return to the Shakespeare stage as well as to a simple stage in which only such decorations were used as were at the same time props. During this time costuming wavered between the historically authentic, and the Renaissance with an occasional ill-starred experiment in modern costume.

From 1928–1933 the Shakespearean stage seemed to be dominated by Hans Rothe, a competent student of Shakespeare possessed of the laudable desire to make Shakespeare well-known to broader masses of people. He made *Henry IV* into an entertainment of one evening with Falstaff as the chief character. He made the *Merry Wives of Windsor* into a play called *Falstaff in Windsor*. He made over *The Comedy of Errors*, and *Two Gentlemen of Verona* with fundamental changes. In other dramas he made changes sufficiently drastic to alter the nature of the characters and actions. The language of his plays approached that of the twentieth century. In one of his best years he presented his versions one hundred and fifty times in Berlin, while the Schlegel-Tieck-Baudissin versions were presented only fifty times. It came to be evident that Rothe was more interested in effective theater than in Shakespeare. Critics, press, and authorities began to interest themselves, and in 1936 "der Fall Rothe" was "erledigt."[25]

Rothe's versions stand in marked contrast to Gundolf's, both in purpose and effect. Gundolf sought to ennoble the language in its effort to encompass Shakespeare. Presumably he thought his versions too good for the masses of the public. His *Antony and Cleopatra* was played in Frankfurt in 1915 without success. A few attempts were also made to use his versions with modifications, but it is now clear that his translation is for the library rather than the stage.

Meanwhile a new city was coming to the fore. Under the direction of Saladin Schmidt the theater of the industrial city of Bochum in the Ruhr began to devote intensive study to Shakespeare's dramas. Beginning about 1923 twenty-eight plays were brought to successful production on the stage. Then in the first Bochum "Shakespeare-Woche" all the English historical dramas were presented in sequence in a single week. This success was followed ten years later by a second week in which all the Roman dramas were staged.

The rationalists, the "Stürmer und Dränger," in fact the German eighteenth century in its entirety felt no compulsion to come into any

[25] *Re* Rothe cf. JEGPh, XXXVI (1937) 256.

relationship with Shakespeare's sonnets. The romanticists were imaginatively historical and also historically philological. They sought not so much to interpret Shakespeare in the light of the Elizabethan time, as to develop a picture of that time through a more accurate view of Shakespeare, and they believed also that the sonnets of Shakespeare could be made to throw light upon his dramas. Tieck once wrote: "Man hat mich oft aufgefordert, ein Leben Shakespeares zu schreiben. Das Meiste, was ich von ihm weiß, habe ich in diesen Sonetten erfahren."[26] He made the sonnets in good part the basis of his "Novelle," *Ein Dichterleben.*

The history of the translation of the sonnets does not begin until the nineteenth century. The resultant products have recently been analyzed in detail.[27] Tieck never carried out his plan of translating the sonnets and ultimately left the task to the ill-equipped Dorothea Tieck. Lachmann's translations represent the philological element of the romantic school. They are meticulously correct but unpoetic. It remained for Gottlieb Regis to do justice to the full romantic intent in 1836: "Eine bewundernswerte Leistung, die würdig ihren Platz behauptet neben den ganz großen Übersetzungen der Romantik, neben der Dramenübersetzung Schlegels."[28]

The epoch of poetic realism had little or naught in common with the age of Shakespeare. The realists were interested in any facts of Shakespeare's life which might be deduced from his sonnets, provided these could shock in no way the moral sense of the public. They sought to render the sonnets agreeable to broad masses of the reading public by expressing them in the language of the best middle-class public, smoothing over all problematical lines and using trite phrases which had been confirmed as poetic. Bodenstedt wrote: "Meine Absicht war einfach, die Sonette in die poetische Sprache *unserer* Zeit zu übersetzen," and he was content with his success. He reported that he had read his translations to "den sittsamsten Herren und Damen . . . ohne jemals einen Laut sittlicher Entrüstung zu vernehmen."[29] Bodenstedt was the characteristic translator of the time. Much that might be said of his Shakespeare translations would apply to Jordan and Simrock as well, and also to Ludwig Fulda, although Fulda's translations did not appear until 1911, four years after the translations of Stefan George. Kahn classifies Shakespeare's sonnets as "klassisch-renaissancehaft im Gegensatz zum barocken Pathos Miltons."[30] The language is "antinaturalistisch" and "deklamatorisch" rather than "preziös." The translations of Stefan

[26] *Taschenbuch Penelope auf das Jahr 1826.*
[27] Kahn [675].
[28] *Ibid.*, 60.
[29] *Ibid.*, 65.
[30] *Ibid.*, 31 f.

George are conscientiously faithful to the original. He might have been vexed to find them associated with Lachmann's in this respect, but the language instead of being "oratorisch" is "preziös" and "gesucht."[31] Of the thirty or more translators since his time, presumably no one had solved more successfully than Gottlieb Regis the difficult task of translating Shakespeare's sonnets.

While much has been said and written regarding the glorification of Shakespeare by the romanticists, their poetic new creations in the spirit of Shakespeare have been underestimated. August Wilhelm Schlegel said: "Der dramatische Dichter hat die Aufgabe, populär zu sein, den Gebildetesten zu genügen und den großen Haufen anzulocken, was auch Shakespeare und Calderon geleistet haben,"[32] and at the conclusion of his lectures in Vienna he called for dramatists who should bring upon the stage the epochs of German history "in einer Reihe Schauspiele wie die historischen von Shakespeare." He wrote to Fouqué: "Welch ein Feld für einen Dichter, der wie Shakespeare die poetische Seite großer Weltbegebenheiten zu fassen wüßte."[33] The Shakespearean elements in the dramas of Schlegel's disciples have been partly hidden by the recommended admixture of "altdeutscher" and Calderonian elements.

According to an anecdote related by his biographer Köpke, *Hamlet* became the object of young Tieck's first enthusiasm.[34] Not long after, toward the end of the 1770's, Tieck had the opportunity of seeing many Shakespearean plays given in Berlin—*Coriolanus*, *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, *Othello*, and *The Merchant of Venice*. A poem, *Die Sommernacht*, written by Tieck in 1789, celebrated Shakespeare as the greatest of all poets. Tieck imparted his enthusiasm to many friends but only Wackenroder responded as he wished.[35] The correspondence shows that Tieck began in Halle to read Shakespeare's dramas intensively, to memorize long passages from them, to read Eschenburg's notes and probably all that Lessing, Gerstenberg, Lenz, and Herder had written on Shakespeare. His first steps toward independent scholarship were taken in Göttingen in 1792. Here for the first time he could read Shakespeare and his contemporaries in the original English and study the Elizabethan period.

On his return to Berlin in 1794 Tieck offered an acting version of *Tempest* to the theater. When nothing came of this he had the version published by Nicolai in 1796 together with a treatise *Über Shakespeares Behandlung des Wunderbaren*, a work, to use Gundolf's characterization,

[31] *Ibid.*, 92.
[32] Quoted by Kluckhohn [1101] 45.
[33] *Ibid.*, 46.
[34] Köpke, *Ludwig Tieck*, Leipzig, 1884, I 42. Cf. Zeydel [1313].
[35] Lüdeke [1309] 23.

worin er alle diejenigen Kräfte Shakespeares herausstellte, deren unmittelbare Nachahmung im Bereich seiner eignen Anlage waren. Shakespeare ist ihm nicht der Schöpfer sondern der Zauberer, nicht der Gestalter sondern der Spieler, nicht der Seher sondern der Träumer, der unverantwortliche Landschafter, Stimmungs- und Taschen-Künstler.[36]

In this essay is to be found the first reference to a larger treatise on Shakespeare, a much postponed work, in which even Tieck's friends at last lost faith. Tieck's "Shakespeare-Novelle," *Ein Dichterleben*, has sometimes been characterized as the grave of his book on Shakespeare, but it was not exclusively a counsel of despair that led to this burial. Poetic theory was in part responsible. Friedrich Schlegel had said: "Über Dichtung ist es nur erlaubt zu dichten," and Tieck's associate, Novalis, was at that time engaged in writing his *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*. It was not until 1817 that Tieck found time and means for a four week visit to the British Museum. Then, before he was able to utilize the material he had collected, he had committed himself to the completion of Schlegel's undertaking. This work absorbed much enthusiasm, that might perhaps otherwise have gone into further dramas or "Novellen" inspired by Shakespeare's life or poetry.

We find Shakespeare's influence most obvious therefore in Tieck's early works. In his *Briefe über Shakespeare*, 1800, he wrote:

Das Zentrum meiner Liebe und Erkenntnis ist Shakespeares Geist, auf den ich alles unwillkürlich und oft, ohne daß ich es weiß, beziehe; alles, was ich erfahre und lerne, hat Zusammenhang mit ihm; meine Ideen sowie die Natur, alles erklärt ihn und er erklärt die anderen Wesen, und so studiere ich ihn unaufhörlich.[37]

There are many reminiscences of *Macbeth* in his *Siward*, and there is much of the character of Hamlet in his *Karl von Berneck*, 1795, the last of his youthful dramas. In the satirical plays of his following period he leaned upon Jonson rather than Shakespeare[38] but in his more serious dramas he returned to Shakespeare. His *Leben und Tod der heiligen Genoveva*, 1800, has a decidedly old-English tone, reminding of *The True Chronicle History of the Whole Life and Death of Thomas Lord Cromwell* and *The Life and Death of Jack Straw*, but the actual form of Tieck's *Genoveva* is Shakespearean, as Tieck himself admitted in a letter to his friend Solger:

Es gehört zu meinen Eigenheiten, daß ich lange Jahre den *Perikles* von Shakespeare vielleicht übertrieben verehrt habe; ohne diesen wäre *Zerbino* nicht, noch weniger *Genoveva* oder *Oktavian* entstanden. Ich hatte mich in diese Form wie vergafft, die so wunderbar Epik und Drama verschmelzt; es schien mir möglich, selbst Lyrik hineinzuwerfen.[39]

[36] Gundolf [652]^2 124.
[37] Kluckhohn [1101] 33.
[38] Stanger [1460].
[39] *Solgers Nachgelassene Schriften und Briefwechsel*, ed. Tieck, Leipzig, 1826, I 502.

To Iffland Tieck wrote: "Ich habe in diesem Schauspiel [*Genoveva*] den Versuch gemacht, die Shakespearesche Form mit der spanischen zu vereinigen."[40] Reminiscent of Shakespeare also are several women characters as well as the romantic outdoor atmosphere. *Genoveva* became for the romantic circle what *Emilia Galotti* had been for an earlier generation, a living exemplification of its dramatic principles.

In *Kaiser Oktavianus*, 1804, only the first part is in structure reminiscent of *Pericles*, the second part resembles rather *Henry IV* in form. After finishing his *Kaiser Oktavianus* Tieck's dramatic impulse slumbered for ten years. Reawakened it produced a few dramas which were, to be sure, rather old-English in their general tone but not specifically Shakespearean.

Almost until the present day no one has challenged Tieck's assertion that Novalis showed no response to the poetic art of Shakespeare.[41] Tieck's superficial comment is pardonable, for the response was not obvious. Novalis had long possessed the Eschenburg translation, but about two months after the death of his Sophie he received from Friedrich Schlegel a copy of August Wilhelm Schlegel's translation of *Romeo and Juliet*. In his "Journal" he noted, May 13, 1797:

> Ich fing an, Shakespeare zu lesen—ich las mich recht hinein. Abends ging ich zu Sophien. Dort war ich unbeschreiblich freudig—aufblitzende Enthusiasmusmomente. Das Grab blies ich wie Staub vor mir hin—Jahrhunderte waren wie Momente—ihre Nähe war fühlbar—ich glaubte, sie solle immer vortreten . . . Abends hatte ich noch einige gute Ideen. Shakespeare gab mir viel zu denken.[42]

Night, love, and death are the dominant notes in *Romeo und Julia* and in Novalis's *Hymnen an die Nacht*. In an essay "Über Shakespeares Romeo und Julia" (*Die Horen*, July, 1797) Schlegel spoke of the lines beginning: "Spread thy close curtain, love-performing night," calling them Juliet's "Hymnus an die Nacht." Novalis returned the translation of *Romeo and Juliet*, May 25, with the comment that more than poetry was in the tragedy: "Jetzt fing ich an zu ahnden, was Shakespeare so einzig macht. Er dürfte leicht divinatorische Anlagen entwickeln."[43] Novalis's *Hymnen an die Nacht* were not published until 1800, but it is generally believed that they were begun in 1797, not long after the death of Sophie and about the time he received the translation. The poems signify that Novalis had abandoned the idea of a flight into death in favor of a flight into poetic creation.

[40] Kluckhohn [1101] 34.
[41] Novalis, *Schriften*, ed. Kluckhohn and Samuel, Leipzig, [1928] IV 458.
[42] *Ibid.*, IV 285.
[43] *Ibid.*, V 205.

A critic has recently defined the relation between Novalis's cycle and Shakespeare's tragedy:

> As the expression of an "Urerlebnis" *Romeo und Julia* could reappear in the *Hymnen an die Nacht,* but only after it had undergone a complete metamorphosis. When it did, it helped Novalis to find himself as a poet; above all, it liberated him from the fear and despair which had haunted him in the early months of 1797 and which continued to loom behind all his poetic works.[44]

The shades of Calderón and of Shakespeare hover over the dramas of Brentano. *Die Gründung Prags,* 1813, is more strongly under the spell of Calderón, but *Ponce de Leon,* 1801, despite its theme, is, with its bold playing on words and its disguises, highly Shakespearean. It also draws upon *As you Like it, Much Ado about Nothing,* and *Twelfth Night* for motifs.

Achim von Arnim's drama *Halle und Jerusalem,* 1811, shows the contending forces at work. Its initial impulse was "altdeutsch." Arnim intended little more than a light adaptation of Gryphius's *Cardenio und Celinde.* First the introductory narrative was transformed into action. Then the scene was changed to modern Halle, bringing with it the student life which Arnim knew so well. Comic and tragic scenes were juxtaposed as in Shakespeare's dramas. For the variations, prose and verse, Arnim substituted verse and "unbestimmte Jamben." He borrowed the marriage music from *Romeo and Juliet* and the play within the play from *Hamlet.* Finally the stage for which he wrote was not the baroque but the Shakespearean. The Nachspiel, *Jerusalem,* is materially related to Calderón's work, but the form is rather that of Shakespeare's. His later plays *Der Auerhahn* and *Der echte und der falsche Waldemar* have similar Shakespearean characteristics. Arnim clearly strove to give his main dramatic characters Shakespearean strength, and in this he succeeded at least better than his fellow romanticists.[45]

Heine's comments on Shakespeare shed more light on Heine than on Shakespeare. A text was wanted for a series of mediocre steel engravings to be published under the title *Shakespeares Mädchen und Frauen,* 1823. Heine accepted the contract, partly on account of the generous honorarium and partly lest it should go to Tieck if he declined it. His text consists of three parts. The first, which alone concerns us here, deals with the history of Shakespeare's fame in England and Germany. Heine did not know of Gerstenberg and the *Schleswigsche Literaturbriefe* nor of Goethe's *Zum Schäkespears Tag,* which indeed had not yet seen the light, but otherwise he was well read in the critical literature on the subject.

[44] Rehder [848].
[45] Kluckhohn [1101].

He lent the weight of his authority to the then prevalent belief that it was Lessing who almost single-handedly had won for Shakespeare recognition in Germany and England, and was inclined to believe "die ganze Lessingsche *Dramaturgie* sei im Interesse Shakespears geschrieben."[46] Heine's division of mankind into two groups—one Greeks, the other Nazarenes (Jews and Christians)—is well known, but Shakespeare defied such classification, and Heine perforce admitted that Shakespeare was a synthesis of the two.[47]

Heine admired above all in Shakespeare the violent contrasts, the "Stimmungsbrechungen." In his *Harzreise* he wrote:

> Das Leben ist im Grunde so fatal ernsthaft, daß es nicht zu ertragen wäre ohne solche Verbindung des Pathetischen mit dem Komischen. Das wissen unsere Poeten. Die grauenhaftesten Bilder des menschlichen Wahnsinns zeigt uns Aristophanes nur im lachenden Spiegel des Witzes, den großen Denkerschmerz, der seine eigne Nichtigkeit begreift, wagt Goethe nur in den Knittelversen eines Puppenspiels auszusprechen, und die tödlichste Klage über den Jammer der Welt legt Shakespeare in den Mund eines Narren, während er dessen Schellenkappe ängstlich schüttelt. Sie habens alle dem großen Urpoeten abgesehen, der in seiner tausendaktigen Welttragödie den Humor aufs höchste zu treiben weiß.[48]

To a similar purport Heine expressed himself in a letter:

> Das Ungeheurste, das Entsetzlichste, das Schaudervollste, wenn es nicht unpoetisch werden soll, kann man auch nur in dem buntscheckigen Gewande des Lächerlichen darstellen, gleichsam versöhnend, darum hat auch Shakespeare das Gräßlichste im *Lear* durch den Narren sagen lassen, darum hat auch Goethe zu dem furchtbarsten Stoffe, zum *Faust*, die Puppenspielform gewählt, darum hat auch der noch größere Poet, nämlich Unser Herrgott, allen Schreckensszenen dieses Lebens eine gute Dosis Spaßhaftigkeit beigemischt.[49]

Shakespeare occupied an important place in the German philosophy of the nineteenth century, most important of all perhaps in that of Schopenhauer, who as a boy had studied in Wimbledon in 1803. Very probably Shakespeare's dramas were known to Schopenhauer before his sixteenth year.[50] Since art alone, according to his view, made life tolerable, it is but natural that his philosophical discussions should be full of quotations from the great poets, above all from Goethe and Shakespeare. To express it approximately, Shakespeare represented for him "die Welt als Wille," and Goethe "die Welt als Vorstellung."[51] In his reflective moments Shakespeare, to be sure, could admit:

> We are such stuff
> As dreams are made of, and our little life
> Is rounded with a sleep.

[46] Heine, *Werke*, VIII 171.
[47] *Ibid.*, VIII 397.
[48] *Ibid.*, IV 180.
[49] *Ibid.*, IV 512.
[50] Wieninger [974] 170.
[51] Gebhard [973] 171.

Here Hamlet had defined for Schopenhauer the relation of life to death. The heroes of the Greek drama died at the behest of fate, died calmly and nobly, but still reluctantly. Shakespeare's heroes died with a deeper insight, with the recognition that life was after all nothing. Schopenhauer agreed too with Shakespeare's conception of fate and character. The one was the other. No individual could change his character, which none the less determined his life and thus reduced him to a puppet-like existence, in which the world was a stage and the men and women merely players. Of all Shakespeare dramas, Schopenhauer quotes most frequently *Hamlet*. Kuno Fischer surmised this was because he felt a spiritual kinship with Hamlet

> nicht bloß als der geniale Pessimist, der er sein wollte und war, sondern auch schicksalsverwandt als der Sohn einer Mutter, die nach seinem Dafürhalten die Liebe des Gatten, seines edlen Vaters, nicht zu schätzen gewußt, und an ihm und an seinem Andenken versündigt habe.[52]

Nietzsche and a school friend first read Byron and Shakespeare at Pforta at the beginning of 1862. One of Nietzsche's shrewd relatives attributed his sudden flagging of interest in humdrum studies to the impression he received from these poets. The young men forthwith declared their previous writings to be milk-and-water sentimentality, and a period of imitation began, at least on Nietzsche's part, which he later declared to be loathsome and childish. It was in this early period that Nietzsche wrote the poem *Nachtgedanken*, 1863, in which he represented himself in a Faustian pose among his books, saying:

> Du gabst mir Trost, du gabst mir Wein und Brot,
> Mein Shakespeare, als mich Schmerzen niederzwangen.[53]

Before his school society Nietzsche read a paper in which he referred to Byron's heroes as "Übermenschen" just as he described Shakespeare's heroes twenty years later in a letter to his sister:

> Es gibt starke Selbste, deren Selbstsucht man beinahe göttlich nennen möchte (z.B. die Zarathustras)—aber jede Stärke ist schon an sich etwas für den Blick Lebendes und Beseligendes. Lies Shakespeare: er steckt voll solcher starken Menschen, roher, harter Granitmenschen. An diesen ist unsere Zeit so arm.[54]

His sister maintained that the idea of the "Übermensch" developed under the spell of Shakespeare and Byron long before the theories of Darwin were known—of which Nietzsche himself was always skeptical. In the often-quoted parable at the beginning of *Also sprach Zarathustra*

[52] Kuno Fischer, *Shakespeares Hamlet*, Heidelberg, 1896, 150.
[53] Nietzsche, *Gesammelte Werke*, München, 1920–1929, I 193.
[54] Ludwig [971] 39.

he made use of them, to be sure, but only as a simile to make clearer his thought.[55] At first the figure of the "superman" appeared to him merely as an enchanting vision, but he later found some real instances in the past, and among these he ranked Shakespeare, Byron, Caesar, Napoleon, Goethe, and several of the Greeks.[56] Of all Shakespeare's works Nietzsche admired *Caesar* most: "Wenn ich meine höchste Formel für Shakespeare suche, so finde ich immer nur die, daß er den Typus Caesar concipiert hat."[57] In respect to form, to be sure, Nietzsche could not commend Shakespeare's work, at least not in his later years. He once said: "Mein Artisten-Geschmack [nimmt] die Namen Molière, Corneille und Racine nicht ohne Ingrimm gegen ein wüstes Genie wie Shakespeare in Schutz."[58] On another occasion he quoted Byron as saying: "Ich betrachte Shakespeare als das schlecheteste Vorbild, wenn auch als den außerordentlichsten Dichter." In *Ecce homo* Nietzsche wrote:

> Ich kenne keine herzzerreissendere Lektüre als Shakespeare: was muß ein Mensch gelitten haben, um dergestalt es nöthig zu haben, Hanswurst zu sein! *Versteht* man den Hamlet? Nicht der Zweifel, die *Gewißheit* ist das, was wahnsinnig macht.

So saying, the thought occurs to him that only a philosopher could speak so truly, and Nietzsche is "instinktiv sicher und gewiß, daß Lord Bacon der Urheber, der Selbstthierquäler dieser unheimlichsten Art Literatur ist."[59] The statement stands alone, and elsewhere Nietzsche discountenances the Baconists,[60] but this has not prevented them from proclaiming Nietzsche as one of their number.

No German Shakespeare, indeed no modern Shakespeare is to be expected. After *Egmont* Goethe declared his freedom from Shakespeare. Kleist never fulfilled the prophecy of Wieland, but he responded to Shakespeare's most tragic notes. Grabbe challenged Shakespeare, Grillparzer consciously avoided him. Hebbel was shielded by a Hegelian view of history foreign to Shakespeare. Otto Ludwig and Georg Büchner died just after they had undergone their apprenticeship to Shakespeare. Gerhart Hauptmann lived to profit by it.

Wieland's testimony regarding Kleist is well known: "Wenn die Geister des Aeschylus, Sophokles und Shakespeare sich vereinigten, eine Tragödie zu schaffen, sie würde das sein, was Kleist's *Tod Guiskards des Normannen*, sofern das Ganze demjenigen entspräche, was er mich damals hören ließ."[61] Wilbrandt and others accepted this as Kleist's intent.

[55] Förster-Nietzsche, *Life of Nietzsche*, trsl. Ludovici, New York, 1912, II 199.
[56] *Ibid.*, II 203; cf. Förster-Nietzsche [1304] 151.
[57] Nietzsche, *Werke*, XXI 200.
[58] *Ibid.*, VIII 192.
[59] *Ibid.*, XXI 200, 201.
[60] Ludwig [971] 34, but cf. Nietzsche, *Werke*, XIX 245.
[61] Von Bülow, *Heinrich von Kleists Leben und Briefe*, Berlin, 1848, 32.

Some later critics, to be sure, have been skeptical.[62] His first tragedy, *Die Familie Schroffenstein,* calls *Romeo and Juliet* to mind, less persistently *King Lear, Macbeth, King John, Othello,* and *Richard II,*[63] but here as well as later we have to do with an elusive relation, of which Kleist himself may have been unconscious. The serious comedy *Measure for Measure* has in different ways left its trace on *Prinz Friedrich von Homburg* and on *Der zerbrochene Krug.* This comedy presents parallels to *Measure for Measure* not only in its main theme but also in its individual scenes, and many speeches seem to echo Shakespeare's play or, to be more precise, Eschenburg's translation of it.[64]

Like Shakespeare, Kleist seized upon life with a passionate fervor, but he demanded of it a worthy content. "Ich habe keinen andern Wunsch als zu sterben, wenn mir drei Dinge gelungen sind: ein Kind, ein schön Gedicht, und eine große Tat." His exaltation of death was but a corollary of his Shakespearean appreciation of life. "Das Leben hat doch immer nichts Erhabneres, als nur dieses, daß man es erhaben wegwerfen kann."[65] The phrase "reif zum Tod" recurs in his letters and dramas. Whether or not he derived this phrase from *King Lear,* as one critic surmises,[66] it brings him on to a plateau with Shakespeare. It is precisely at crises of his dramas, where life is at stake, that Kleist seems most strikingly Shakespearean, and grim, ironic, Shakespearean laughter often accompanies death. Kleist appears to have known Shakespeare well, either in the original or in translations, but if it was ever his intention to unite the art of the Greeks with that of Shakespeare he was foredoomed to failure. He could not with the Greeks assign a determining role to the fates and thus lighten the responsibility of man. Like Shakespeare he was an individualist, but again not a Shakespearean individualist—for that he came too late. His characters could not live themselves out in supreme disregard of society; they had to pit themselves against society or yield to the common good. For that reason Kleist could not adopt and adapt Shakspeare's tragic characters as entities. Moreover his dramatic work was un-Shakespearean for the simple reason that he lived and wrote not in the triumphant age of Elizabeth but in one of Prussia's darkest epochs.

Grabbe succeeded by dint of imitation, protestation, and emulation in connecting his name with Shakespeare's. In his *Herzog Theodor von Gotland* he followed his model *Titus Andronicus* rather slavishly. The

[62] Wukadinović, S. *Kleist-Studien,* Stuttgart, 1904; Fischer, O. *Kleists Guiskard Problem,* Dortmund, 1912.
[63] Corssen [1078] 22–24.
[64] Krumpelmann [1080].
[65] *Briefe Heinrich von Kleists,* ed. Michael, Leipzig [1925], 182.
[66] Corssen [1078] 76.

idea of the extinction of an entire family as a means of revenge appealed strongly to his poetic temperament. The two Moors, Aaron and Berdon, in the two plays in question, are similar in action and words and character. Both seek to gain revenge with the aid of cat's-paws. In Grabbe's *Marius und Sulla*, furthermore, there are a large number of parallels to *Coriolanus* both in motifs and phrasing.[67] Grabbe's two works were published in 1827 together with an essay *Über die Shakespearomanie* criticizing the imitators of Shakespeare:

> Nachahmung ist überall verwerflich und schickt sich nur für gedankenlose Kinder und Affen. Der Deutsche fühlt das, er läßt sich daher nicht gerne Nachahmer schelten, und sucht fast immerdar die Nachahmung durch Übertreibung zu verstecken. . . . Wir wünschen und hoffen Dichter, welche es nicht bei der Nebenbuhlerei des Shakespeare beruhen lassen, sondern indem sie alle Fortschritte der Zeit in sich aufnehmen, ihn überbieten. Hat sich ein solches Talent noch immer nicht gezeigt, so ist das kein Beweis, daß es nicht noch kommen kann, und in mehrerer Hinsicht hat Goethes Erscheinung hier bereits unsern Wunsch erfüllt.
>
> Mit Shakespeare, das heißt, durch Streben in dessen Manier, erwirbt sich kein Dichter Originalität; bei jetzigem Stande der Bühne wird er beinahe schon dadurch ein Original, daß er Shakespeares Fehler vermeidet.[68]

Don Juan und Faust, *Napoleon*, *Die Hermannsschlacht*, and the "Hohenstaufen" dramas represent an attempt to emulate Shakespeare and surpass him. Grabbe wrote to a friend in 1829: "Bin ich nicht ein bischen ein Sappermenter? Den Sir Shakespeare wollen wir doch wohl herunterkriegen. Für sein bestes historisches Stück gebe ich nicht einmal den *Barbarossa*."[69] As the subject matter is different, a paralleling of motifs occurs only by accident. Thus Grabbe's Kaiser Friedrich in *Heinrich VI*, when excommunicated, replies to the message of the pope in phrases rather closely resembling those of Shakespeare's King John. *Aschenbrödel* is related in an interesting way to *The Merchant of Venice*. It required no mean skill to blend so successfully motifs from Shakespeare's drama into this fairy drama. The Jew plot in Grabbe's drama corresponds to the Shylock plot and the role of Aschenbrödel to that of Portia, with a similarity which may be traced into details.[70]

From his vulgar surroundings Grabbe could scarcely hope to produce such works as were fostered by the stimulating Elizabethan atmosphere. Like the "Sturm und Drang" dramatists he could imitate Shakespeare chiefly in his ruder aspects. At any rate Grabbe's tirades are better sustained and more resonant than the explosions of temper in Klinger's *Sturm und Drang*, and there is evidence of greater force and more finesse

[67] Hoch [1053] 26–31, 37, 45.
[68] Grabbe [641] 466 f.
[69] Grabbe, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Grisebach, Berlin, 1902, IV 265.
[70] Hoch [1053] 49 and 57 ff.

than were possessed by the earlier "Genies." In emulation with Marlowe, at least, Grabbe might have acquitted himself with credit.

Grillparzer found in the library of his father of Shakespeare's works only *Hamlet* and *King Lear*, both in Schröder's stage edition. In his earliest productive years Grillparzer looked upon Schiller as a model, but articles by Schreyvogel in the *Sonntagsblatt* called his attention to Shakespeare. Later, as a private teacher in the house of Graf Seilern in 1812, he had at his disposal a complete Shakespeare in Theobald's edition, but only a meager command of English. His first real acquaintance with Shakespeare therefore dates from the reading of the Schlegel translations while he was an assistant in the library at Vienna in 1813. A part of the money earned by *Die Ahnfrau* was invested in an edition of Shakespeare.

In spite of the author's protests *Die Ahnfrau* will doubtless always be classed as a fate tragedy. Grillparzer maintained that he had not invented a new system of fatalism but had only made use of the superstitious notions of an unenlightened age for a poetic purpose, and this was the very defense he made on one occasion for the witch scenes in *Macbeth*.[71] After the publication of *Die Ahnfrau* Grillparzer began to study Shakespeare until, about 1822, he saw danger therein:

> [Shakespeare] tyrannisiert meinen Geist, und ich will frei bleiben. Ich danke Gott, daß er da ist, und daß mir das Glück ward, ihn zu lesen und wieder zu lesen und aufzunehmen in mich. Nun aber geht mein Streben dahin, ihn zu vergessen. Die Alten stärken mich, die Spanier regen mich zur Produktion an . . . Der Riese Shakespeare aber setzt sich selbst an die Stelle der Natur, deren herrliches Organ er war, und wer sich ihm ergibt, dem wird jede Frage, an sie gestellt, ewig nur er beantworten. Nichts mehr von Shakespeare![72]

On another occasion Grillparzer quoted an oft-spoken regret of the time, "daß es Ferdinand Raimund an Bildung fehle" and added: "Wenn diese noch dazugekommen wäre, stünde der leibhaftige Shakespeare da."[73] A direct line leads from the old Spanish drama through the baroque theater of Vienna, and the "Märchendrama" of Raimund and others to Grillparzer's dramas. Shakespeare's dramas are the product of the same era as Lope de Vega's. Well versed in the literature of Spain, Grillparzer recognized this kinship, but though he himself was a heritor of the Viennese theatrical tradition, he was a product of the Biedermeier period, and for him the motives and conventions of the average man should and did triumph over the efforts of the "Kraftmenschen." Thus a recent critic has analyzed Grillparzer's declaration of freedom from Shakespeare.[74]

[71] Gross [1058] 18.
[72] *Grillparzers Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Sauer, Stuttgart, Cotta, 1892, XVIII 134.
[73] *Ibid.*, XVIII 34.
[74] Görlich [1063].

In 1836 Grillparzer visited London and saw *Julius Caesar, Macbeth, Romeo and Juliet,* and *Richard III* played at the Drury Lane Theatre and Covent Garden. He also attended one of Ludwig Tieck's Shakespeare evenings and heard Höltei's recitation of *Julius Caesar* in Vienna in 1841. Moreover he saw many of Shakespeare's plays at the Burgtheater before he foreswore the theater entirely. *Hamlet* made the strongest appeal to his melancholy nature but he regarded *Macbeth* as Shakespeare's greatest work.

Shakespearean problems, moods, and characters may have stimulated Grillparzer's creative imagination. Hero and Juliet were comparable characters,[75] but Grillparzer could only have patterned after Shakespeare at the expense of his own poetic genius. When he planned a cycle of historical dramas he did not carry it out in Shakespearean fashion. Shakespeare's heroes were "männliche Vollnaturen," who overrode all restraints, nor did Shakespeare ever become so interested in their psychology as to relent the pace of the dramas. The tragedy of Grillparzer's heroes, as well as of his own life, originated, as Volkelt said, "aus einer dem Leben nicht gewachsenen Innerlichkeit."[76] Ottokar and Rudolf are the nearest to "männliche Vollnaturen" with perhaps a reservation in favor of Leon in *Weh dem, der lügt!* "Shakespeare selbst," Hebbel once said, "würde vor dem ersten Akt des Ottokar die Mütze gelüftet haben,"[77] but even in this most Shakespearean of Grillparzer's dramas, action is subordinated to character more than in Shakespeare's historical plays, and in the sequels, *Der Bruderzwist im Hause Habsburg* and *Libussa,* the overemphasis is still more obvious.

The four great dramatists born in 1813, Hebbel, Wagner, Ludwig, and Büchner, all made their reckoning with Shakespeare in different fashions. Hebbel felt it was his mission to elevate tragedy by dint of the philosophy of history to a higher than Shakespearean level. Goethe, to be sure, said of Shakespeare: "Seine Stücke drehen sich alle um den geheimen Punckt, in dem das Eigentümliche unsres Ich's, die prätendierte Freyheit unsres Willens, mit dem nothwendigen Gang des Ganzen zusammenstößt."[78] We may well doubt with Gundolf whether this correctly characterizes Shakespeare,[79] but on the other hand it is as if coined for Hebbel. The scene of the conflict of Shakespeare's heroes is laid in their own beings. They are free agents and can choose their course. Hebbel's characters are representatives of humanity who participate involuntarily in its evolutionary

[75] Gross [1058] 31. Cf. Yates [1059].
[76] Volkelt, *Franz Grillparzer als Dichter des Tragischen,* Nördlingen, 1888, 36.
[77] Gross [1058] 27 f.
[78] Goethe, *Werke,* I (37) 133.
[79] Gundolf [652]^{2} 213, 227.

struggle. They may fight valiantly or endure serenely, but the stand they take is predetermined by their environment (Maria Magdalena), by their mere being (Agnes Bernauer), or by their responsibilities (Herzog Ernst). Thus regularly similar situations fail to develop parallel courses of action. Brutus is free to choose, while Judith's course is dictated to her by Jehovah, and Angelo in *Measure for Measure* is freer than Golo in *Genoveva*.

Hebbel's dramas harmonize in a higher unity the drama of the Greeks and of Shakespeare. With the Greeks fate must conquer and is so overpowering as to crush individual will. With Shakespeare will is triumphant. With Hebbel both man and evolutionary progress (Hebbel's substitute for fate) are unconquerable and are pitted against each other in a never-ending struggle. Almost to the same extent as Shakespeare, Hebbel developed the tragedy out of the character of his heroes, while with the Greeks the tragic heroes have the character given them by the myth.

Hebbel once planned to write a treatise which would no doubt have sought to demonstrate wherein his tragedy marked an advance over Shakespeare's[80] but he refrained because he felt that Shakespeare had become a trite theme in Germany.[81]

Not the much-admired *Hamlet* but the much-criticized *King Lear* was Hebbel's favorite among Shakespeare's tragedies:

> Das Höchste, was Shakespeare geschaffen hat, ist der *Lear* . . . *Hamlet* ist Shakespeares Testament in Geheimschrift abgefaßt. Es ist ein Stück, wie im Grabe geschrieben . . . ein furchtbares Ade, das er der Welt zurief, als er ihr den Rücken wandte und wieder in Nichts verschwand. Aber *Lear* ist der Triumph über alle Schmerzen . . . *Lear* ist das einzige Werk, das mit der *Antigone* verglichen werden kann, . . . auch der Form nach einzig und unerreichbar, besonders auch darin, daß Goneril und Regan selbst . . . nicht allein eine Art von Berechtigung finden sondern auch ihre Erklärung; wir sehen ein, daß ein jähzorniger Vater eben solche heimtückische, kalte, ihn nur *fürchtende* Kinder erzeugen mußte.[82]

Perhaps Hebbel saw here a merit which escaped the attention of Shakespeare himself, but it must be added that Solger had said much the same thing in an essay which Hebbel had read and admired.[83]

As might be surmised, Hebbel was most interested in Shakespeare's historical plays. His few material borrowings from Shakespeare are unimportant, and Shakespeare was a healthful counterbalance to his reflective tendencies. Hebbel once said of Goethe and Schiller: "Sie haben sich im Einzelnen von Shakespeare so fern wie möglich gehalten, ihn im

[80] Alberts [1064] 1.
[81] Hebbel, *Werke*, ed. Werner, Berlin, 1902, XIV 130.
[82] *Ibid.*, XIV 261.
[83] Braun [1057].

Ganzen aber nie aus den Augen verloren;"[84] and the same observation has been applied to Hebbel himself.

Hebbel's *Maria Magdalena* and Ludwig's *Erbförster* mark the turning away from the earlier dramatic form and toward the drama of Ibsen in the late nineteenth century. Ludwig's *Shakespeare-Studien*, have for Richard M. Meyer a somewhat similar significance.[85] Is Ludwig describing Shakespeare's plays or Ibsen's, he asks, when he says:

"Der Stoff ist unter den andern der glücklichste für die Bearbeitung, der am meisten Stetigkeit hat, der immer dieselbe kleine Anzahl von Personen im engsten Raume zusammenhält und mit ruhiger Bewegung seinem Abschlusse entgegengeht, so *Hamlet, Othello,* der Anfang von *Julius Caesar.*"[86]

This describes *Hamlet* and *Othello* not so well as *Ghosts, Nora, Rosmersholm.* Similarly, when Ludwig says "ein gutes Stück ist nichts als eine Katastrophe," Meyer asks again: "Is it a defense of Shakespeare's dramas or of *Nora?*"[87] But on the other hand Ibsen's drama runs counter to some of Ludwig's most specific demands: rapid change of scene, use of the monologue when needed, utilization of historical material, maintenance of Shakespeare's dramatic style, and agreement with Shakespeare's sense of the tragic.[88]

In accepting Shakespearean art as dramatic law Ludwig fell in with the trend of the time as represented by the criticism of Robert Prutz, Hermann Hettner, Julian Schmidt, Heinrich Kurz, and Friedrich Theodor Vischer. His treatment differed from theirs chiefly in that it was more concrete. It was formerly the fashion to state that Ludwig lost his creative urge by his concentration on the study of Shakespeare's technique. The formula can no longer stand. Ludwig discovered that his *Der Erbförster,* 1850, failed to realize his ideal. Forthwith he began his *Shakespeare-Studien* in which he said: "Jede Kunst schließt ein Handwerk in sich ein; das Handwerk der Kunst nenne ich den Teil derselben, der gelehrt und gelernt werden kann; wo das Handwerk aufhört, da beginnt die Kunst."[89]

In the course of these studies Ludwig began several dramas which he planned to complete with due regard to proper hand work but with free play to art, among them a *Wallenstein,* a *Maria von Schottland,* and *Der Sandwirt von Passeier.* He abandoned work on them in order to concentrate on *Tiberius Gracchus* which, as planned, would have deserved a humble place beside *Julius Caesar* and *Coriolanus.* On this tragedy he

[84] Alberts [1065].
[85] Meyer, *Die deutsche Literatur des 19. Jahrhunderts,* Berlin, 1900, 327.
[86] Ludwig, *Schriften,* V 94. Cf. Meyer [1085] 83.
[87] *Ibid.,* V 413.
[88] Adams [1086].
[89] Ludwig, *Schriften,* V 35.

worked amidst pain and in a race with impending death.[90] After many years enough fragments and plans of this drama have come to light to prove that Ludwig's creative urge was directed rather than stifled by his *Shakespeare-Studien*.[91]

In view of Georg Büchner's similarly incomplete career it was fortunate that his study of Shakespeare was begun in his early youth and under favorable auspices. Led by the brothers Friedrich and Georg Zimmermann, a group of young students read in the "Buchwald" near Darmstadt many plays of Shakespeare, including *The Merchant of Venice*, *Othello*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and *Richard III*. The Zimmermann brothers brought to the group a clear understanding of Herder's conception of Shakespeare and it was this view to the exclusion of all the more recent ones, which persisted with Büchner and became fruitful for him.

Büchner conceived of Shakespeare as a manifestation of life, just as nature and history were others. He was averse to idealists. In defense of his *Dantons Tod* he wrote to his family from Strassburg, July 28, 1835:

> Der Dichter ist kein Lehrer der Moral, er erfindet und schafft Gestalten, er macht vergangene Zeiten wieder aufleben, und die Leute mögen dann daraus lernen . . . was im menschlichen Leben um sie herum vorgeht . . . Wenn man übrigens noch sagen wollte, der Dichter müsse die Welt nicht zeigen, wie sie ist, sondern wie sie sein solle, so antworte ich, daß ich es nicht besser machen will, als der liebe Gott, der die Welt gewiß gemacht hat, wie sie sein soll.

He condemns "die sogenannten Idealdichter," who create "Marionetten mit himmelblauen Nasen und affectiertem Pathos," but not human beings of flesh and blood, and concludes: "Mit einem Wort, ich halte viel auf Goethe und Shakespeare, aber sehr wenig auf Schiller."[92]

Numerous quotations in Büchner's works and the similarities of situation and character are evidences that Shakespeare was constantly his guide. These are particularly frequent in *Dantons Tod* and in *Leonce und Lena*.[93] At first glance *Dantons Tod* with its mass scenes, popular orators, and fickle populace seems to be Büchner's closest approach to Shakespeare, but in its political purposefulness it is un-Shakespearean. It is rather the piece of an apprentice, who therewith became a master. The fragments of *Woyzeck* give evidence of independence.

Richard Wagner was another dramatist who knew Shakespeare well and pondered deeply upon him, but without ever losing his own poetic freedom thereby. Shakespeare was apparently the first English poet whom he knew; in fact he learned English in order to be able to read him

[90] Cf. Fischer [1087].
[91] Richter [1091].
[92] *Georg Büchners gesammelte Schriften*, ed. Lindau, Berlin, 1909, II 189.
[93] Vogeley [1049] 30–33.

in the original. His attention was called to Shakespeare very early from two sides. His uncle, Adolf Wagner, was a writer on modern literature and a critic of Shakespeare, and his sister Rosalie was a much-admired player of Shakespearean roles. While still a youth Wagner produced the dramatic monstrosity, *Leubald und Adelaide*, which plunders from *Romeo and Juliet*, *King Lear*, *Hamlet*, and *Macbeth*, and later his somewhat better *Liebesverbot*, 1836, based on *Macbeth* and *Measure for Measure*. He read, apparently, most of Shakespeare's dramas as a young man and reread them frequently; he naturally attended many performances in Germany as well as a few in London. He made three visits to London under greatly differing circumstances: In 1839 he came as a poor orchestra leader seeking a position, in 1855 as the public enemy of Mendelssohn, whom everyone admired, and in 1877 as the master of Bayreuth.

Wagner, like Herder, explained Shakespeare not in the light of the Greeks but of Shakespeare's own time, above all not in the light of nineteenth-century morality. His *bête noire* in Shakespearean criticism was Gervinus, and here he agreed with Liszt, Gottfried Keller, and Grillparzer. With Hebbel he was agreed that Shakespeare's dramas did not mark the culminating point of all dramatic development.

Wie der Karren des Thespis in dem geringen Zeitumfange der athenischen Kunstblüte sich zu der Bühne des Äschylos und Sophokles verhält, so verhält sich die Bühne Shakespeares in dem ungemessenen Zeitraum der allgemeinsamen menschlichen Kunstblüte zu dem Theater der Zukunft.[94]

The latest of the great German followers of Shakespeare was Gerhart Hauptmann. On August 12, 1897, Hauptmann wrote in his note book: "Ehe denn Nietzsche war, war Goethe, und ihm verdanke ich nächst mir, das meiste. Wer mir sagt, Goethe sei mein Vordermann, Shakespeare sei mein Vordermann, der sagt mir die Wahrheit. Nietzsche ist nicht mein Vordermann."[95]

Hauptmann first saw Shakespeare's plays in the productions of the Meininger in Breslau in 1876–1877. These included *Julius Caesar* and *Macbeth*. "Kein Wort ermißt den Umfang des geistigen Gutes, mit dem ich in diesen wenigen Abendstunden für mein ganzes Leben ausgestattet wurde." Later, 1880–1881, he saw productions of *Tempest* and of *Hamlet* by the same company. Forthwith he began to read all of Shakespeare's plays in the Bodenstedt-Freiligrath edition. In 1884–1885, when studying dramatic art under Alexander Hessler, the Harro Hassenreuter of *Die Ratten*, it was Hauptmann's ambition at some time to play the role of Hamlet. In 1891 as he traveled past Hohenhaus he said to his companion

[94] Wagner, *Werke*, ed. Golther, Berlin [1919] III 110.
[95] For the following see Voigt and Reichart [1152].

Paul Schlenter: "Wenn ich mal einen *Sommernachtstraum* schreiben sollte, so kann er nur dort oben spielen." The next year his play *Die Jungfern von Bischofsberg* appeared, followed soon after by *Die versunkene Glocke* which reminds strongly, at times, of *A Midsummer Night's Dream.*

The first impression is that Hauptmann's *Schluck und Jau*, 1900, is merely a development of the introduction to *The Taming of the Shrew*, but like most of Hauptmann's work it is the product of varied reading, of experience, of time and of unconscious production. As Hauptmann says: "Man schafft aus dem Unbewußten." The episode of Sly brought to his mind the story of "the sleeper awakened" in the *Arabian Nights.* This seemed to him fraught with deeper significance. While at work on "Hassan der Menschenhasser" he wrote on the manuscript the single word "Timon." Then having found the dominant motif for his work, he returned to *Schluck und Jau* and gave it a serious content.

The route from Shakespeare's *Tempest* to Hauptmann's *Indipohdi* is similarly circuitous, and can only be retraced by the aid of a manuscript in Hauptmann's "Hausarchiv" bearing the title "*Die Insel*, Paraphrase zu Shakespeare's *Sturm.*" The paraphrase is, like Hauptmann's *Hamlet in Wittenberg*, in good part a new creation.

During the years 1925–1936 Hauptmann thought much about Hamlet. Beyond that only his autobiographical works were begun and completed during this time; *Das Buch der Leidenschaft* and *Das Abenteuer meiner Jugend.* Hauptmann first planned to write what might be called an autobiographical Hamlet novel. This was to differ from *Wilhelm Meister* in that the Hamlet figure was to be closely related to the author and hence the unifying element of the whole, not merely an episodic role as in Goethe's novel. In the midst of this work he was halted by the discovery that the tragedy of *Hamlet*, as written, did not satisfy all his demands. Using the Schlegel translation as his basis he prepared a new *Hamlet* which was produced in Dresden in 1927. In a published defense, however, he stated that a new translation was necessary since the Schlegel translation was laden with errors. His treatise on Hamlet and his partial translation are now available in the "*Ausgabe letzter Hand.*"

Meanwhile Hauptmann felt the need of creating for himself a more definite conception of Hamlet's early life, a life spent in part at Wittenberg during a period with which the author of *Florian Geyer* was familiar, and he proceeded to dramatize Hamlet's life during the Wittenberg years. The Hamlet novel, *Im Wirbel der Berufung*, and the Hamlet drama both were completed in 1936. The drama, *Hamlet in Wittenberg*, had its première in November. Hauptmann felt guilty of no impiety in his attempt. In his introduction he called his labor "Schöpfung im leeren

Raum." He was familiar with Gutzkow's fragment *Hamlet in Wittenberg*, but knew nothing of Karl von Holtei's fragment, "Ophelia und der Student aus Wittenberg." At first Hauptmann expected to fill his dramas with notable personages of the time and place. Out of their disputations a humanistic Hamlet should emerge, but he soon realized that this was insufficient for his purpose. His hero must be torn between a desire to know and a desire to experience. Hence the episode of the gypsy love. To this point his life problem was approximately Faustian. Tragedy entered when he was compelled to forego both his desires and instead become a man of action.

Other completed dramas of Hauptmann and a large number of incompleted fragments bear a close relation to Shakespeare's tragedies. In the foregoing account only a few of Hauptmann's important dramas have been touched upon. The question remains: Wherein lies the close affinity of Hauptmann to Shakespeare? It has been said that Hauptmann deals frequently with pathological beings. This he would not attempt to deny. In one of his notes he quoted Paul Ernst: "Der Dichter, der zum Pathologischen seine Zuflucht nimmt habe schlecht komponiert, sagt P. E." Hauptmann took issue with him here:

> Was können für den Dichter die "normalen" Menschen bedeuten? Erst die πάθη sind es, die einen Menschen für den Dramatiker interessant machen, nicht, weil dann ein anormaler Zustand gegeben wäre, oder gar etwas Krankhaftes, sondern weil ganz im Gegenteil die urtümlichen und urmenschlichen Kräfte, die sonst ungeweckt in den Tiefen der Seele schlummern, an die Oberfläche gelangen. Es handelt sich dabei . . . um das Sprengen des Alltags-Menschlichen. Sind nicht alle Gestalten gerade bei Shakespeare mit ihren ungeheuren Leidenschaften "pathologisch"?

Hauptmann quoted Goethe's observation: "Was ist denn überall tragisch wirksam als das Unerträgliche?", analyzed the self-deception of the chief characters in *King Lear* and concluded: "Die Tragik liegt nicht etwa nur in dem Falle Lear. Sie liegt in der ganzen Formel des blinden vernunftlosen Lebens."

After the completion of his Hamlet novel and his Hamlet drama, Hauptmann began a work which is a valediction in much the same sense as Shakespeare's *Tempest*. In *Die Töchter der Kathedrale*, Prospero, Ariel, Puck, and Caliban receive a metaphysical explanation. During the last years of his life Hauptmann departed from the world of Shakespeare and returned to his earliest field of interest. The product of this was four dramas which together made up an "Atriden-Tetralogie."

For nearly two hundred years the stage, the literature, and the thought of Germany has been under the spell of Shakespeare. As a recent critic has said:

Kein wahrhaft großer Menschengestalter Deutschlands ist ohne eine gültige Nachschöpfung aus der Galerie Shakespear'scher Helden, Käuze und Verbrecher zum ewigen Ruhme gelangt, von Friedrich Ludwig Schröder über Ludwig Devrient und Kainz zu Werner Krauß, kein großer Spielleiter von Immermann bis Fehling und Weichert. Jede Generation hat ihn sich—neugestaltend, neudichtend aus dem eignen Zeitgefühl von A. W. Schlegel über den Bodenstedt-Geibelkreis bis Gerhart Hauptmann—neu erworben um ihn neu zu besitzen.[96]

[96] Stahl [1128].

Part Four

THE ERA OF WORLD LITERATURE

Chapter XXI

ENGLISH LITERATURE IN THE GERMAN ROMANTIC PERIOD

Amidst the ebb and flow of literatures in the eighteenth century, it is possible to distinguish what currents came from England to accelerate the movements successively toward rationalism, sentimentalism, and "Sturm und Drang" in Germany. Standing before the nineteenth century we seem to be looking into a maelstrom in which many waters mingle. As Goethe said to Eckermann, January 31, 1827: "Nationalliteratur will jetzt nicht viel sagen, die Epoche der Weltliteratur ist an der Zeit, und jeder muß jetzt dazu wirken, diese Epoche zu beschleunigen."[1] Goethe's introduction to the German translation of Carlyle's *Life of Schiller* ended with a plea for international coöperation in literary production, but Goethe warned against a common supernational literature to be attained by the elimination of national characteristics:

> Eine wahrhaft allgemeine Duldung wird am sichersten erreicht, wenn man das Besondere der einzelnen Menschen und Völkerschaften auf sich beruhen läßt, bei der Überzeugung jedoch festhält, daß das wahrhaft Verdienstliche sich dadurch auszeichnet, daß es der ganzen Menschheit angehört.[2]

This warning was meant particularly for Germany:

> Der Deutsche läuft keine größere Gefahr, als sich mit und an seinen Nachbarn zu steigern; es ist vielleicht keine Nation geeigneter, sich aus sich selbst zu entwickeln . . . Jetzt, da sich eine Weltliteratur einleitet, hat genau besehen der Deutsche am meisten zu verlieren; er wird wohl thun, dieser Warnung nachzudenken.[3]

The dawn of the nineteenth century found English literature occupying no such position of transcendance as thirty years earlier, before *Götz von Berlichingen* and *Werther* were written. Almost immediately German literature leaped into a commanding position and could now look back upon a glorious past of its own. Goethe still remembered gratefully the German debt to English literature. To Eckermann he said, December 3, 1824: "Unsere Romane, unsere Trauerspiele, woher haben wir sie denn als von Goldsmith, Fielding und Shakespeare?" and he added modestly: "Und noch heutzutage, wo wollen Sie denn in Deutschland drei literarische Helden finden, die dem Lord Byron, Moore und Walter Scott an die Seite zu setzen wären?"[4] But at the same time Goethe could hope:

> Es bilde sich eine allgemeine *Weltliteratur*, worin uns Deutschen eine ehrenvolle Rolle vorbehalten ist. Alle Nationen schauen sich nach uns um, sie loben, sie tadeln,

[1] Eckermann, *Gespräche*, 271.
[2] Goethe, *Werke*, I (41:2) 306.
[3] *Ibid.*, I (41:2) 201 f.
[4] Eckermann, *Gespräche*, 142.

nehmen auf und verwerfen, ahmen uns nach und entstellen, verstehen oder mißverstehen uns, eröffnen und verschließen ihre Herzen: Dieß alles müssen wir gleichgültig aufnehmen, indem uns das ganze von großem Wert ist.[5]

The turn in the tide of travel is significant. Arnim's visit to Scotland in 1803, Tieck's to London in 1817, and the visits of Fontane to England and Scotland in 1842, 1852, and 1856 were made with serious literary purposes in view. The visits of Heine, Grillparzer, and Hebbel to London were of a casual nature. Kinkel and Freiligrath arrived in England as political refugees rather than as literary pilgrims. But in general the stream of travel was in the other direction. Heretofore English men of letters had rarely thought it necessary to include Germany in their grand tour, but Coleridge and Wordsworth set the example in 1798, followed by Thomas Campbell in 1800. All three made it their first concern to visit Klopstock in Hamburg. After that it grew to be the custom for English and American men of letters to become acquainted with Germany. Such journeyings often meant little. Byron in 1816, Browning in 1838, and Dickens in 1846 merely made the Rhine trip; Scott passed through Germany in his last days, 1832, and Thackeray as a youth of nineteen was hospitably received at Weimar in 1830, but the experience had no notable effect upon his literary career. George Meredith, on the other hand, attended until the age of sixteen, 1844, a Moravian school in Neuwied, receiving impressions that did much to shape his future career. Bulwer-Lytton visited Germany in 1848 and dedicated his *Pilgrims of the Rhine* to the German people. After writing his *Falkland*, comparable in many respects to *Werther*, he turned his attention to "metaphysical novels," by which he meant novels of apprenticeship to life, such as *Wilhelm Meister*.[6] George Eliot and George Henry Lewes established literary relationships in Weimar and Berlin in 1864; and in 1868 Matthew Arnold studied the school system of Prussia, returning to open the eyes of his countrymen to the defects in their own educational system. The visits of American scholars to German universities were destined to affect higher education in America and the sojourns of Irving and Longfellow were to bear fruit for our literature.

It is possible in this period to distinguish numerous reciprocal influences. To take the example nearest at hand, Goethe remained sensitive to the trend of English thought, yet his own influence on English and American literature, largely through the advocacy of Carlyle, Emerson, and Margaret Fuller, is of greater importance; and again Walter Scott, who so radically affected German literature, owed a debt in turn to

[5] Goethe, *Werke*, I (41:2) 265.

[6] See Susanne Howe, *Wilhelm Meister and his English Kinsmen . . .*, N.Y., 1930; chap. vi, Bulwer-Lytton.

Germany. *Götz von Berlichingen* evoked in Germany nothing better than a sequence of mediocre "Raubritterromane" and "Ritterstücke," but Walter Scott read it, translated it in his early years, and it was one of the stimuli that called forth his epic work in poetry and prose. In sending his novels into Germany, Scott was repaying a literary debt. Transplantation, acclimatization, and mingling of stock are often conducive to literary production; *La Nouvelle Héloise* and *Werther* attest the truth of this.

In this connection one can ill refer to Byron. He was not a typical British figure. Contemporary English and Scottish society disowned him. He was rather the personification of a spirit abroad in Europe at the time and merely chanced to be born in England. He was a part of the romantic movement which is in itself evidence that European literature had become a unity.

The early German romanticists, who included remote India, ancient Greece, the Spain of the Middle Ages, and, above all, the German Middle Ages, in their enthusiasms, were far from overlooking England. The rationalism of Addison and Pope interested them not at all. Thomson and Milton were no longer names to conjure with, Arnim and Brentano were providing Germany with a collection of folk songs comparable to Percy's but the Elizabethan age appealed to their imagination and formed one of their chief occupations.

The activities of Tieck are representative. The Schlegels had preempted the dramas of Shakespeare, but Tieck, undaunted, took up the subject of Shakespeare's contemporaries, made many excellent discoveries, and published his collection, *Altenglisches Theater*, 1811, and his *Vorschule zu Shakespeare*, 1823, accepting with enthusiasm every rumor that attributed any work to Shakespeare and exalting him for such achievements as the older *King John* and the older *King Lear*, *Arden of Feversham*, *Locrine*, *Sir John Oldcastle*, *Thomas Lord Cromwell*, *Edward III*, and *The London Prodigal*. From about 1820 on the supervision of the continuation of Schlegel's translation of Shakespeare occupied his attention.

Tieck was as much interested in the theater as in the texts. In *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* Beaumont and Fletcher had presented upon the stage not only the stage itself but audience and critics, and Ben Jonson had used a similar device in his two "Everyman" plays. Tieck adopted this plan in his two satirical plays, *Der gestiefelte Kater*, 1797, and *Die verkehrte Welt*, 1798. In his attempt to modernize Jonson's *Volpone* and adapt it to Berlin conditions, *Ein Schurke über den anderen oder die Fuchsprelle*, 1798, he only succeeded in completely denaturizing

his original. In his restless search for new material from the Elizabethan period he generally failed to lend distinction to the themes he laid hands upon, but in his later play, *Fortunatus*, 1815, he blended rather discreetly Elizabethan and romantic elements. The theme is a folk tale that Dekker had used, the form is that of the old chronicle play, and the atmosphere should have been approximately that of *The London Prodigal*, with its scenes of public life, but what the unknown Elizabethan dramatist drew from observation Tieck rather too obviously drew from conscientious study.[7]

The original impulse to Tieck's *Vittoria Accorombona* came also out of the Elizabethan period. When Tieck, in 1792, read Webster's drama *The White Devil*, it suggested to him only a romantic tale dealing with magic, and the idea of expanding it to a historical novel did not come to him until long after when he had read both Scott's *Waverley* and Manzoni's *I Promessi Sposi*.

Tieck was interested not only in the Elizabethan school, but at one time or another found a starting point for his imaginative works in such widely different authors as Ossian,[8] Scott,[9] and Richardson. Whether the letter form of his *William Lovell*, 1795, came by way of *Le Paysan perverti* of Restif de la Bretonne or of Richardson's novels has been a question. Its more sensuous elements went back to the French source and the moral aims, which he at least professed, are inspired by Richardson. To be sure Restif professed much the same virtuous motives as Tieck, such as "die Enthüllung der Heuchelei, Weichlichkeit und Lüge . . . die Verachtung des Lebens, die Anklage der menschlichen Natur,"[10] but Tieck himself indicated his indebtedness to an English source.[11] In his novel he twice paid his compliments to Richardson[12] and manifestly patterned his style and even certain incidents upon *Clarissa*,[13] but he wavered between his two models, mingling sensual descriptions with psychological anlaysis, refraining, however, from Richardsonian moralizing.

Achim von Arnim's *Reichtum, Schuld und Buße der Gräfin Dolores*, 1810, on the other hand, resembles Richardson's novels not merely in exterior detail but in pervading spirit. The last of the imitators of Richardson, Arnim was the first to understand him well. Gellert, Hermes, and Sophie La Roche shared his moral aims, but they found room for the long and unplausible adventures of the seventeenth-century novel. Graf Karl is obviously patterned after Charles Grandison, but here as well as

[7] Lüdeke [1309] and Gundolf [1312].
[8] Hemmer [466].
[9] See p. 333, below.
[10] Donner [1492] 7.
[11] Tieck, *Schriften*, Berlin, 1828, VI xvi f.
[12] Donner [1492] 3.
[13] Zeydel [1313] 15.

elsewhere Arnim improved upon his predecessor and substituted developing for perfect characters.

An interest in Ossian, in folk poetry, in Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, and most of all perhaps in the Jacobite rebellion of 1745 drew Arnim to the British Isles. He made a short excursion into Scotland in 1803, returning to London about Christmas. The first literary product of his trip was his *Elegie aus einem Reisetagebuch in Schottland*, published in *Die Zeitung für Einsiedler*, April, 1808, and later embodied in his *Gräfin Dolores*. Two undated "Romanzen" found in his collected poems, *Der Wilddieb* and *Der Förster*, also owe their origin to this trip, and both resemble the poems of Scott's *Minstrelsy* in style.[14]

Of all the British novelists the German romanticists felt themselves most strongly drawn toward Sterne. What they valued in Jean Paul was his "Willkürlichkeit" and his "Phantasie." In the *Athenaeum* they exalted him above Sterne "um seiner Phantasie willen," which was "weit kränklicher, also weit wunderlicher und phantastischer."[15] Under their guidance Brentano was led to take Jean Paul as a model. He did not plan his *Godwi*, 1801, as a humorous work. By nature sentimental and morbid, he was yet gifted with a saving sense of mockery which he imparted to his characters.

The technique of humor is much the same with Sterne, Jean Paul, and Brentano. The most frequent device is "das aus dem Stück fallen," as Brentano called it, whereby the author destroys the illusion by referring to the book within the book. Sterne tells his readers he is determined to finish this chapter before he goes to bed. Jean Paul says that his manuscript is now so thick that his sister sits on it to play the piano.[16] Brentano's Godwi says: "Dies ist der Teich in den ich Seite 266 im ersten Bande falle" and Maria, on meeting Godwi says: "Dies war also der Godwi, von dem ich viel geschrieben habe . . . Ich hatte ihn mir ganz anders vorgestellt."[17]

After duly considering the realism and the psychology of the English novelists Heine pays the highest tribute to Sterne. In their novels, he says, "spiegelt sich ab die wirkliche Welt und das wirkliche Leben, oft heiter (Goldsmith), oft finster (Smollett), aber immer wahr und treu (Fielding)";[18] and again:

> Richardson gibt uns die Anatomie der Empfindungen. Goldsmith behandelt pragmatisch die Herzensaktionen seiner Helden. Der Verfasser des *Tristram Shandy* zeigt

[14] Howie [1499].
[15] *Loc. cit.*, III (1800) 117.
[16] Jean Paul, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Berend et al., Weimar, 1927, I (3:2) 268.
[17] *Clemens Brentanos sämtliche Werke*, ed. Schüddekopf, München, 1909, V 310, 236 f. Cf. Kerr [1527] 65.
[18] Heine, *Werke*, V 280.

uns die verborgensten Tiefen der Seele; er öffnet eine Luke der Seele, erlaubt uns einen Blick in ihre Abgründe, Paradiese und Schmutzwinkel und läßt gleich die Gardine davor wieder fallen.[19]

Of all these novelists it was to Sterne, with his ever changing moods and his bantering suggestiveness, that Heine felt himself most akin. The *Harzreise*, 1826, is a "sentimental journey" in which many of the devices of Sterne are employed and *Das Buch Le Grand* shows a still greater number of correspondences to *Tristram Shandy*.[20] In a letter from Florence dated October 1, 1828, Heine specifically called his *Italienische Reisebilder* "eine Art sentimentaler Reise."[21] In his works, like Sterne's, humor and sentimentality are constantly paired, but with Sterne the elements are resolved into a harmony, in Heine they often end in dissonance or "Stimmungsbrechung."

After the Elizabethan drama and the humorous-sentimental novel, the reception of the English fate tragedy deserves consideration. Lillo's *Fatal Curiosity* was first presented in England in 1736 under the title *Guilt its own Punishment*. Revived the following year under the now familiar name, it found little favor and soon disappeared from the boards to remain in retirement until 1782. During the time that *The London Merchant* was so popular in Germany *Fatal Curiosity* made little stir, and was not translated into German until 1761.[22] Twenty years later similar works began appearing in Germany. The tragedies in question may be roughly divided into two groups. To the first would belong such middle-class dramas as Brömel's *Stolz und Verzweiflung*, 1780, Moritz's *Blunt*, published in the *Berliner Literatur- und Theater-Zeitung* in 1780, and in book form the following year, but with a happy ending and the whole revised accordingly. Here belong also Tieck's *Abschied*, 1792, Werner's *Der vierundzwanzigste Februar*, 1810, and Müllner's *Der neunundzwanzigste Februar*, 1812. To the second group belong the historical dramas which make use of fatalistic motifs similar to those employed by Lillo; for example Tieck's *Karl von Berneck*, 1795, Schiller's *Braut von Messina*, 1803, Kind's *Schloß Aklam*, 1803, Müllner's *Die Schuld*, 1813, Houwald's *Der Leuchtturm*, 1821, and, despite the author's protestations, Grillparzer's *Die Ahnfrau*, 1817.[23]

The internal evidence of influence is stronger in the earlier members of the first-named group, strongest of all in Moritz's *Blunt*. Moritz's drama too tells of a son, saved from shipwreck, who returns after many years

[19] *Ibid.*, VII 153.
[20] Vacano [1528] 36.
[21] *Heinrich Heines Briefwechsel*, ed. Hirth, München, 1914, I 528.
[22] *Die unglückliche Neugierde*, Hamburg, 1761.
[23] Fath [1466] 11.

to his poverty-stricken parents, now at the end of their resources. He plans to pass himself off as a stranger for the night and then reveal himself to his parents in the morning. His casket, obviously containing treasure, leads the parents to slay the son. Parallels of detail in the action and phrase are so numerous that Moritz in the introduction to the second edition was at pains to deny imitation:

> Ohne zu wissen, daß Lillo den Stoff zu diesem Stücke schon bearbeitet hat und ohne einmal die Ballade zu kennen, woraus dieselbe [*sic*] genommen ist, veranlaßte mich eine dunkle Erinnerung aus den Jahren meiner Kindheit, wo ich diese Geschichte hatte erzählen hören, sie dramatisch zu bearbeiten.

This would settle the matter could one but have sufficient faith in Moritz's reliability as a witness, but in his autobiographical novel he represents his Anton Reiser as "ein Heuchler gegen Gott, gegen andere und gegen sich selbst . . . Ruhm und Beifall zu erwerben, das war von jeher sein höchster Wunsch gewesen; aber der Beifall mußte ihm damals nicht zu weit liegen—er wollte ihn gleichsam aus der ersten Hand haben."[24] It is not impossible that Moritz read *Fatal Curiosity* in his boyhood and in the original, for at the age of nineteen he had read Pope and Fielding. The close verbal resemblances between his drama and Lillo's, however, seem to suggest far more than a "dunkle Erinnerung aus der Kindheit."[25] Brömel, on the other hand, frankly called his tragedy "*Stolz und Verzweiflung* nach *Der unglücklichen Neugierde* des Lillo," and Tieck, although acquainted with Moritz, seems not to have known his *Blunt*. With Brömel's version he was however familiar[26] and it was this apparently which suggested to him his "Schicksalstragödie," *Der Abschied*.

The historical group of fate dramas, on the other hand, was connected with Lillo's drama only in the most incidental way. Schiller seems to have known none of the four dramas mentioned above, for Robinson reports that he had to relate the plot of *Fatal Curiosity* to him. If Robinson hoped to elicit some confession from him regarding *Die Braut von Messina* he was disappointed. Schiller merely remarked that it was a good theme for a drama and added that he had once read Lillo's *The London Merchant*.[27]

The fatal day and the fatal sword, so highly prized by the later romanticists, were first invented by Tieck in his *Karl von Berneck*. Grillparzer, Werner, and Müllner owe these to him. Müllner's *Der neunundzwanzigste Februar* was obviously an attempt to outbid Werner's *Der vierundzwanzigste Februar*, but the latter seems to have originated inde-

[24] Moritz, *Anton Reiser* in DLD, XXIII (1886) 31.
[25] Sandbach [1469] 453.
[26] Tieck, *Schriften*, XI xli.
[27] Robinson, *Diary*, I 313.

pendently of Lillo. In a social gathering in Goethe's house a "schauerliche Kriminalgeschichte" was read aloud out of a newspaper. Goethe and Werner undertook to make use of two different phases of this tale in competition. Werner's drama was played in Weimar in 1810 but none of the many comments on it connected it in any way either with Schiller's tragedy or Moritz's.[28]

During the heyday of the "Schicksalsdrama" the "Gothic" novel was popular in Germany as well as in Western Europe generally. Of the various types of Gothic novels the historical species was the least fantastic. One of the earliest and best of these novels was Sophie Lee's *Recess*, 1783–1785. A worthy forerunner of Scott's *Kenilworth*, it owes little or nothing to foreign models. It was translated by Bertha Naubert in 1786, immediately after its appearance and favorably commented upon by the critics.[29]

The paraphernalia of the supernatural Gothic novel included among other things ruined castles, ghosts, mysterious voices, secret caves and dungeons, beautiful maidens in distress, noble robbers, villainous monks, witches, soothsayers, and necromancers. There were Gothic novels of this description in England, Germany, and France in the eighteenth century.

Walpole's *Castle of Otranto*, a Gothic story, 1764, and its early imitation by Clara Reeve, *The Champion of Virtue*, 1777, later called *The Old English Baron*, owe little to foreign predecessors. In Germany the earliest contributions to the new genre were made by Goethe and Schiller; *Götz von Berlichingen* introduced the "Vehmgericht," *Die Räuber* the noble-minded outlaw. Coleridge described *Die Räuber* as "a combination of the bloated style of Hervey's *Meditations*, the figurative metaphysics and solemn epigrams of Young's *Night Thoughts* and the loaded sensibility and morbid consciousness of *Clarissa Harlowe* with the mysterious geniuses, ruined castles, dungeons, trapdoors, skeleton ghosts of *The Castle of Otranto*." "The German drama," he said, "is therefore English in origin, English in its materials and English by readoption."[30] No doubt this is an overstatement of Schiller's debt to the English. Christian Vulpius, Veit Weber, Benedictine Naubert, and Heinrich Zschokke borrowed traits from Schiller and added some of the paraphernalia of Clara Reeve, Ann Radcliff, and Horace Walpole. Schiller's *Verbrecher aus verlorner Ehre*, 1785, and *Der Geisterseher*, 1789, also fall into this period.

[28] Minor [1467] 54 f.

[29] *Die Ruinen, eine Geschichte aus den Vorzeiten der Königin Elisabeth*, von dem Verfasser des "Kapitels der Zufälle" a. d. E. von B. Naubert I–III, Leipzig, 1786. Cf. NBSWFK, XXXII (1786) 328. The reviewer is probably Christian Felix Weisse.

[30] *Biographia Literaria*, 1926, 359.

Since the time of Coleridge the question of the priority of the English or the German Gothic novel has been discussed from time to time. To be highly successful the supernatural Gothic novel had to have a foreign allure. The scene was usually laid in some place remote from the homeland, and novels of foreign origin, real or supposed, were more salable than local products. Of the seven horrid tales mentioned in Jane Austen's *Northanger Abbey*, two are translations from the German, three are described as "German story" or "German tale," a sixth is entitled *The Orphan of the Rhine*, and the action of a seventh seems to take place in Salzburg.[31] In Germany, on the other hand, novels purporting to derive from England were generally more popular than rivals of German scene. Ann Radcliff preferred Italy as the scene of her novels. Her popularity is attested by the numerous novels falsely ascribed to her. Nine such novels appeared in France between 1798 and 1830, two in Holland between 1817 and 1820, and eight in Germany between 1801 and 1850.[32]

Precisely how much influence the English Gothic novels had in Germany has never been exactly ascertained. The English development begins with Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto*, 1764. Saintsbury says the German romances owed not a little to it.[33] Hofmann considers such an influence as "sehr wahrscheinlich."[34] Bräuchli, basing his comment in part on the supposition that the first translation of Walpole's novel did not appear until 1794, considers its possible influence as slight, but here he has overlooked an earlier translation, namely *Seltsame Begebenheiten im Schlosse Otranto, eine gotische Geschichte*, "aus dem Englischen," Leipzig, 1768. He admits however:

> Der Umstand, daß die englischen Schloß- und Geistergeschichten am besten vertreten sind zwischen 1796 und 1810, während die deutschen den Höhepunkt erst zwischen 1815 und 1840 erreichten, macht es immerhin wahrscheinlicher, daß England durch diese beiden Schauerroman-Gattungen auf Deutschland wirkte als umgekehrt.[35]

A more recent investigator has placed the English development still earlier and has summed up his account saying: "By 1789 in England the Gothic in fiction and drama had attained elaborate development, but had scarcely begun to grow in Germany. On the whole Germany lagged by about ten years."[36]

[31] Agnes Murphy, *Banditry, Chivalry, and Terror in German Fiction, 1790–1830*. Univ. of Chicago diss., 1935, 44.

[32] Van Wieten, *Mrs. Radcliffe, her Relation toward Romanticism*, Amsterdam diss., 1926.

[33] *Cambridge History of English Literature*, Cambridge, 1907, XI 300.

[34] O. Hofmann, *Studien zum englischen Schauerroman*. Leipzig diss., 1915, 77.

[35] J. Bräuchli, *Der englische Schauerroman um 1800 . . .*, Zürich diss., 1928, 117 f.

[36] Bertrand Evans, *Gothic Drama from Walpole to Shelley*, University of California Publications in English, XVIII (1947) 123 f.

Regarding Matthew Gregory Lewis misstatements are rife because of complicated interrelations. To mention one example: it was long thought that Lewis's *The Monk* owed a chief episode to an undated tale that appeared in Vienna and Prague under the title *Die blutende Gestalt mit Dolch und Lampe, oder die Beschwörung im Schloße Stern bei Prag,* but the date of the latter has recently been ascertained, and we now know that it was written not before *The Monk* but shortly after its translation by Oertel 1797–98.[37] Grillparzer's *Ahnfrau* owes a debt either to Lewis's *The Monk* or to the German tale, more likely directly to the former.

The sources of Lewis's novelistic production are many and various. For one of his *Romantic Tales,* 1808, *Mistrust, or Blanche and Osbright, a Feudal Romance,* the basis of the plot was provided by Kleist's *Die Familie Schroffenstein.*[38] Lewis announced certain German sources for *The Monk* and investigators have uncovered others.[39] German elements outweigh the French. Walter Scott called it a romance in German taste. Dastardly monks were common in French and German novels before Lewis's time. Perhaps the chief innovation of Lewis consisted in the elevation of the monk to the chief role. *The Monk* was translated promptly into German[40] and found many imitators. *Die blutende Gestalt* has already been referred to, and the monk in Müller's *Vasco und Isabella oder der Großinquisitor,* 1819, has been described elsewhere as a counterpart of Ambrosio.[41]

E. T. A. Hoffmann was impelled to write his *Die Elixiere des Teufels* in part by the reading of Lewis's *The Monk.* In both "ein Mönch, durch höllische Mächte verleitet, verliebt sich in eine Blutsverwandte—ohne daß er von der Verwandtschaft weiß—und läßt sich, um in ihren Besitz zu kommen, zu einem Morde hinreißen." The similarity between the two narratives goes further and includes certain details of action and parallelisms of characters and even of phrasing. Walpole's *Castle of Otranto* seems to have provided further suggestions. Koziol, however, shows "wie von Hoffmann Minderwertiges, Äußerliches und Billiges vertieft und verinnerlicht wurde."[42]

[37] Arlt [1464].

[38] L. T. Peck in JEGPh, XLIV (1945) 9–11.

[39] Lewis referred to a popular tale regarding the bleeding nun. Herzfeld in ASNS, CIV (1900) 310–312 called attention to Musäus's "Märchen," *Die Entführung,* Ritter in ASNS CXI (1903) to Veit Weber's *Teufelsbeschwörung,* and Schiller's *Geisterseher.*

[40] Montagu Summers, *The Gothic Quest,* London [1938] lists the following translations: *Der Mönch* a. d. E. von F. von Oertel, I–III, Leipzig, 1794; *Mathilde von Villanegas, oder der weibliche Faust,* Berlin, 1799; *Der Mönch oder die siegende Tugend,* Magdeburg, 1806; *Der Mönch, eine schauerlich abentheuerliche Geschichte,* Hamburg, 1810.

[41] Cf. Murphy, 44. See fn. 31, above.

[42] Koziol [1465] 467 and 476.

The movement toward a world literature assumed the form of a loose organization through the correspondence of Goethe and Carlyle. Carlyle made the first approach, June 24, 1824, when he sent Goethe his translation of *Wilhelm Meister*, followed about three years later by his *Life of Schiller*, both of which Goethe acknowledged and warmly commended. From now on letters and works were exchanged more frequently. Carlyle was able to tell Goethe of the growing appreciation for German literature in England. Goethe sent to Carlyle the volumes of his correspondence with Schiller as fast as they appeared, as well as other works helpful to him in his studies on German literature. Goethe also procured for Carlyle an election as honorary member of the "Berlinische Gesellschaft für ausländische schöne Literatur." Carlyle distributed personal souvenirs from Goethe to the small group of men who had done most to introduce German literature in England, and Goethe received from them a letter and a commemorative medal on his last birthday.

The Berlin society undertook to publish a translation of Carlyle's *Life of Schiller*, for which Goethe should write the preface. Carlyle supplied personal facts in regard to his past career and present circumstances, and Jane Carlyle sent a sketch of the Carlyle home, which was reproduced in the completed work, 1830. Goethe's introduction ended with a plea for international comity in literature.[43]

The name, Robert Burns, hitherto little heard in Germany, had already occurred in the correspondence of Goethe and Carlyle. On September 25, 1828, Carlyle wrote to Goethe that he was about to publish an essay on Burns, who, as he pointed out, was born in Schiller's birth year and died in the first year of the Goethe-Schiller friendship. In his reply several months later (June 25, 1829) Goethe said:

> Ihren Landsmann Burns, der, wenn er noch lebte, nunmehr Ihr Nachbar seyn würde, kenn ich so weit, um ihn zu schätzen; die Erwähnung desselben in Ihrem Briefe veranlaßt mich, seine Gedichte wieder vorzunehmen, vor allem die Geschichte seines Lebens wieder durchzulesen, welche freylich wie die Geschichte manches schönen Talents höchst unerfreulich ist.
>
> Die poetische Gabe ist mit der Gabe, das Leben einzuleiten und irgend einen Zustand zu bestätigen, gar selten verbunden.
>
> An seinen Gedichten hab ich einen freyen Geist erkannt, der den Augenblick kräftig anzufassen und ihm zugleich eine heitere Seite abzugewinnen weiß. Leider konnt ich dieß nur von wenigen Stücken abnehmen, denn der schottische Dialect macht uns andere sogleich irre, und zu einer Aufklärung über das Einzelne fehlt uns Zeit und Gelegenheit.[44]

[43] Goethe, *Werke*, I (42:1) 185 ff.

[44] *Ibid.*, IV (45) 304; cf. *Tagebücher*, October 8, 1828: "Den Brief von Carlyle näher betrachtet . . . Leben von Burns und schottische Balladen." *Ibid.*, III (11) 288.

Goethe was impressed by Burns's rapid rise from lowly surroundings to wide popularity. Such a success could occur, he said to Eckermann, May 3, 1827, in a land of high common culture such as Italy, France, or Scotland but not in Germany. "Es kommt darauf an, daß in einer Nation viel Geist und tüchtige Bildung in Kurs sei, wenn ein Talent sich schnell und freudig entwickeln soll."

> Nehmen Sie Burns. Wodurch ist er groß, als daß die alten Lieder seiner Vorfahren im Munde des Volkes lebten, daß sie ihm sozusagen bei der Wiege gesungen wurden, daß er als Knabe unter ihnen heranwuchs und die hohe Vortrefflichkeit dieser Muster sich ihm so einlebte, daß er darin eine lebendige Basis hatte, worauf er weiterschreiten konnte. Und ferner, wodurch ist er groß, als daß seine eigenen Lieder in seinem Volke sogleich empfängliche Ohren fanden, daß sie ihm alsobald im Felde von Schnittern und Binderinnen entgegenklangen und er in der Schenke von heiteren Gesellen damit begrüßt wurde. Da konnte es freilich etwas werden! Wie ärmlich sieht es dagegen bei uns Deutschen aus![15]

In the before-mentioned introduction to the translation of Carlyle's *Life of Schiller*, Goethe quoted from Carlyle's letter of September 25, 1828, the phrases commendatory of Burns, taking occasion to add that since the Scotsman, Carlyle, had taken so much interest in Schiller, it was fitting that some member of the Berlin society should take the lead in a study of Burns.[46] Early in October, 1830, Goethe was able to send Carlyle good tidings: "Ein talentvoller junger Mann und glücklicher Übersetzer beschäftigt sich mit Burns; ich bin darauf sehr verlangend."[47] The choice had fallen upon Philipp Kauffmann. Carlyle replied, October 23, 1830, expressing his hopes and misgivings as to the success of the undertaking.[48] The translation was not completed until several years after Goethe's death, and Carlyle's misgivings were justified.

Almost simultaneously with it, in 1840, was published another by Wilhelm Gerhard, a native of Weimar and a descendant of Paul Gerhardt. In his preface the translator apologized gracefully for competing with the poet of Goethe's choice. Gerhard's translation was preceded by an introduction of forty-eight pages, giving the main facts of Burns's life as recorded by James Currie, Walker, Lockhart, and Allan Cunningham. At last Burns began to receive a goodly measure of recognition in Germany. Translations and reprints were frequent and passed through many editions. It seems safe to attribute the three reprints of the early thirties in part to Goethe's call for such works; the three of the early 1840's were doubtless partly due to the translations of Kauffmann and Gerhard. The democratic movements of the two decades were also favorable to the appreciation of Burns in Germany. We find translations of thirteen poems of Burns in Freiligrath's *Gedichte*, 1838, and the originals of many

[45] Eckermann, *Gespräche*, 318 f.
[46] Goethe, *Werke*, I (42:1) 196 ff.
[47] *Ibid.*, IV (47) 279.
[48] Norton [1276] 233.

in his anthology, *The Rose, Thistle, and Shamrock*, 1853. Among the other translators were, A. von Winterfeld, Carl Bartsch, and August Corrodi.[49]

Despite the efforts of Henry Crabb Robinson, the poets of the "lake school" made but slight impression on the leading literary circles in Germany. Robinson reported in 1803 that Herder agreed with Wordsworth in regard to poetical language,[50] that Friedrich Schlegel, 1802, was pleased with one or two of Wordsworth's pieces,[51] and that Tieck exclaimed, 1824: "Das ist ein englischer Goethe."[52] Robinson read some of the poems to Knebel in 1829 and had to report: "I did not fully impose him with Wordsworth's power."[53] This discouraged him from talking to Goethe about Wordsworth.[54] Schiller called Coleridge a man of genius. He was much impressed with the ability Coleridge showed but said that he had made some ridiculous mistakes.[55] Tieck esteemed him little as a critic but highly as a conversationalist.[56] Goethe was little impressed by Robinson's reading of "Fire, Slaughter, and Famine,"[57] 1829. Knebel was favorably affected by some of Southey's poems, 1818, and wrote to Goethe[58] and Charlotte Schiller[59] in regard to them.

By dint of translations and letters to his friends, Schwab, Kunzel, and others, Freiligrath ultimately succeeded in winning favor for the "lake poets." He first translated some of the poems of Wordsworth. He began translating Coleridge's *The Ancient Mariner* in 1830 but did not have it ready for publication until 1836. He also translated some of Southey's poetry which, he said, attracted him less than that of Byron, Moore, Coleridge, Scott, and Wordsworth.[60] The comments of the literary journals on these poets had been for the most part unimportant or cool,[61] at least before the time of Freiligrath's advocacy.

Thomas Moore, according to our best information, was during this time "neben Byron der beliebteste englische Dichter der Zeit."[62] Goethe in 1822 ranked Scott, Byron, and Moore above all German poets,[63] but

[49] Macintosh [1332] 28 ff.
[50] Robinson, *Diary*, I 154.
[51] *Ibid.*, I 122.
[52] *Ibid.*, I 10.
[53] *Ibid.*, II 428.
[54] *Ibid.*, II 439.
[55] *Ibid.*, I 114.
[56] *Ibid.*, I 62.
[57] *Ibid.*, II 417.
[58] *Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Knebel* . . ., ed. G. E. Guhrauer, Leipzig, 1854, II 248.
[59] *Briefe von Schillers Gattin an einen vertrauten Freund*, ed. H. Düntzer, Leipzig, 1856, 434, 436 f.
[60] Sigmann [1232] 23, 31, 46.
[61] *Ibid.*, chap. i.
[62] *Ibid.*, 92.
[63] See fn. 4, above.

to Kanzler von Müller in 1823 he said: "Thomas Moore hat mir nichts zu danken gemacht," and in 1824 he denied that Moore was worthy of Byron's laurels: "Höchstens in einem Ragout dürfte Moore einige Lorbeerblätter genießen."[64] Heine, however, said at about the same time that Moore and Scott were the sole representatives of English poetry since the death of Byron.[65] Moore's oriental poetry first came into prominence. In January 1824 a notable festival was held at the Prussian court, with *Lalla Rookh* as its motif.[66] It was translated by Fouqué in 1822, by Beuren in 1829, by Pechlin in 1830, by Oehlkers in 1837, by Mencke in 1843, and by Alexander Schmidt in 1857. Schumann set *Paradise and the Peri* to music in 1844. There were also reprints, translations, and school editions of these popular cantos. Freiligrath translated about twenty-eight of Moore's minor poems and imitated a few others. Two of Moore's poems became well known to the German people under the titles "Die letzte Rose," and "Wenn durch die Piazzetta." Echoes of Moore are frequent in Freiligrath's poetry, more frequent indeed than echoes of Byron.[67]

It cannot be said that these lyric poets were really influential in Germany. Their effect even on Freiligrath has been overemphasized. Despite the assertions of Weddigen, Richter, and Erbach, neither Byron nor any other English poet was instrumental in turning Freiligrath from exotic to political poetry. That change took place about 1840. Up to that time Freiligrath had shown little interest in politics or political poems, native or foreign. With "Ça ira," 1846, he assumed the role of a revolutionary poet, but as an aftermath of the struggle of 1848–1849 he abandoned social ideas and developed into a political poet.[68]

Goethe received, perhaps from Huttner, a copy of Thomas Hood's *Whims and Oddities* 1827, read the work attentively and with no little perplexity. Because of his lack of familiarity with the English characters and conditions the persiflage often eluded him. Nevertheless he attempted a review of the work, the title of which he translated as *Grillen und Nullitäten*. He commented favorably on the poem "Sea Spell." "Schaum und Gischt weiß er recht gut zu mahlen," and "vorzüglich brav ist er zur See."[69]

Shelley fared less well in Germany than his contemporaries. His friendship with Byron failed to gain for him the attention of Goethe, and he

[64] Goethe, *Gespräche*, ed. Biedermann, Leipzig, 1889–1891, IV 278, 290 and V 108.
[65] Schalles [1067] 11 f.
[66] *Aus dem Nachlaß Varnhagens von Ense* . . ., Leipzig, 1861–1870, II 158.
[67] Gudde [1255] 365–368.
[68] *Ibid.*, 356 f.
[69] Hennig [1451].

might have remained almost unnoticed except for the "Young Germans" who were interested in his social ideas.[70]

Goethe wrote to Carlyle, April 14, 1830: "Seit vielen Jahren werden wir von den Einwohnern der drei Königreiche besucht, welche gern einige Zeit lang bei uns verweilen und guter Gesellschaft genießen mögen."[71] The list of English visitors in Goethe's house is long. Young English students were especially favored. They belonged to Ottilie's circle and helped to create her "Chaos." Thackeray at the age of nineteen was one of the group. He wrote that in 1830 at least a score of young English lads lived in Weimar for study or sport or society. He always remembered years later with pleasure the hours in Goethe's house. "His daughter-in-law's tea-table was always spread for us. We passed hours after hours there and night after night with the pleasantest talk and music."[72]

Thus Goethe had the opportunity to compare the young English youths with Germans of a like age:

> Es ist ein eigenes Ding, liegt es in der Abstammung, liegt es im Boden, liegt es in der freien Verfassung, liegt es in der gesunden Erziehung, genug, die Engländer überhaupt scheinen vor vielen anderen etwas vorauszuhaben, . . . was sind das alles für tüchtige hübsche Leute! . . . Es liegt nicht in der Geburt und im Reichtum; sondern es liegt darin, daß sie eben die Courage haben das zu sein, wozu die Natur sie gemacht hat. . . . Es sind immer komplette Menschen. . . . Das Glück der persönlichen Freiheit, das Bewußtsein des englischen Namens und welche Bedeutung ihm bei andern Nationen beiwohnt, kommt schon den Kindern zugute.[73]

He described young German scholars on the other hand as "kurzsichtig, blaß, mit eingefallener Brust, jung ohne Jugend" and added "daß sie ganz in der Idee stecken," and that "nur die höchsten Probleme der Spekulation sie zu interessieren geeignet sind."[74] Months later he said to Eckermann: "Während die Deutschen sich mit Auflösung philosophischer Probleme quälen, lachen uns die Engländer mit ihrem großen praktischen Verstande aus und gewinnen die Welt."[75]

Before Goethe's death, machinery and industrialism began to encroach rudely upon the culture the eighteenth century had produced; and interest in such problems as the existence of evil in the best possible world, the perfectibility of man, and the identity of the good, the beautiful, and the true began to give way to questions more "practical." Plutus-Faust saw fit to dismiss his "Knabe Lenker":

> Nun bist du los der allzulästigen Schwere,
> Bist frei und frank, nun frisch zu deiner Sphäre!

[70] Liptzin [1525].
[71] Goethe, *Werke*, IV (47) 17.
[72] Landgraf [1270] 49.
[73] Eckermann, *Gespräche*, 391 f.; March 12, 1828.
[74] *Ibid.*, 392.
[75] *Ibid.*, 496; September 1, 1829.

Hier ist sie nicht! Verworren, scheckig, wild
Umdrängt uns hier ein fratzenhaft Gebild.
Nur wo du klar ins holde Klare schaust,
Dir angehörst und dir allein vertraust,
Dorthin, wo Schönes, Gutes nur gefällt,
Zur Einsamkeit!—da schaffe deine Welt.

The new orientation of men and organization of things proceeded more rapidly in England than in Germany. Goethe, the incorrigible optimist, saw in it only the prospect of good to humanity. He read, for example, with great interest and reviewed Pückler-Muskau's *Briefe eines Verstorbenen*,[76] in which the author described a marvellous enterprise that was being undertaken on the coast of Wales. Here William Alexander Madock diked in and redeemed from the sea two thousand acres of land and founded the village of Tremadoc. This gigantic undertaking demanded the services of two or three hundred laborers for seven years and eventually provided a home for over five thousand inhabitants. Sarrazin has surmised that the tidings of this plan suggested the scene of the last episode in Faust's career.[77]

Thus Sarrazin focused his telescope upon a single feature of a wide horizon, the full expanse of which Hohlfeld has more recently surveyed.[78] The final act of *Faust* began to acquire its ultimate form about 1830. Before that time Goethe's attention was already turning from France toward England, "das meerumflossene . . . nach allen Weltgegenden hin tätige."[79]

Goethe kept himself well informed in regard to English culture and life. To a young English visitor he said on January 10, 1825: "Ich beschäftige mich seit fünfzig Jahren mit der englischen Sprache und Literatur, so daß ich Ihre Schriftsteller und das Leben und die Einrichtung Ihres Landes sehr gut kenne. Käme ich nach England hinüber, ich würde kein Fremder sein."[80] But Goethe was also aware that England's world expansion was achieved with frequent ruthlessness and that there were gross inequalities in English life. He was shocked at the wealth of the bishops' estates and knew that the benevolence of the gentry was paired with the heartlessness of absentee landlords and of overseers as ruthless as Mephistopheles in the Philemon and Baucis tragedy. Eckermann once asked Goethe how then he could be happy in England under such conditions. Assuming a Mephistophelian air Goethe replied: "In England

[76] Goethe, *Werke*, III (12) 292 ff. Cf. I (42) 55–63.
[77] Sarrazin [1263] 121.
[78] Hohlfeld [1266].
[79] Goethe, *Werke*, I (41:1) 56.
[80] Eckermann, *Gespräche*, 145; January 10, 1825.

geboren, wäre ich ein reicher Herzog gewesen, oder vielmehr ein Bischof mit jährlichen 30,000 Pfund Sterling Einkünfte."[81]

In general, industrial England concerned Goethe little, but he was keenly interested in rural, commercial, and especially seafaring England. He regarded the sea as a character-forming element, and remarked to Eckermann March 11, 1828:

> Lord Byron, der täglich mehrere Stunden im Freien lebte, bald zu Pferde am Strande des Meeres reitend, bald im Boote segelnd oder rudernd, dann sich im Meere badend und seine Körperkraft im Schwimmen übend, war einer der produktivsten Menschen, die je gelebt haben.[82]

Goethe added, the following day, that he regarded "Insulaner und Meeranwohner" as more productive than landbound continentals.[83] More tersely Thales addressed the sea (*Faust* II, 8437 ff.):

> Ozean, gönn' uns dein ewiges Walten . . .
> Du bist's, der das frischeste Leben erhält.

The struggle to master the element served as the most satisfying symbol of man's struggle with nature. By it man became "tüchtig" and "frei." Here, as usually with Goethe, "frei" is used without political implication. It is in the light of such prevailing enthusiasms and interests that Hohlfeld would interpret the last act of Faust, particularly the passage beginning:

> Im Innern hier ein paradiesisch Land,
> Da rase draußen Flut bis auf zum Rand.
> Ja! diesem Sinne bin ich ganz ergeben,
> Das ist der Weisheit letzter Schluß:
> Nur der verdient sich Freiheit wie das Leben,
> Der täglich sie erobern muß.
> Und so verbringt, umrungen von Gefahr
> Hier Kindheit, Mann und Greis sein tüchtig Jahr.
> Solch ein Gewimmel möcht' ich sehn,
> Auf freiem Grund mit freiem Volke stehn.

[81] *Ibid.*, 683; March 17, 1830.
[82] *Ibid.*, 385 f.; March 11, 1826.
[83] *Ibid.*, 386.

Chapter XXII

BYRON AND "WELTSCHMERZ"

When the Napoleonic blockade of England was broken, the pent-up works of two British poets began to flood the Continental market. Scott made a longer enduring conquest of his foreign readers, but Byron a more sensational one.

> Lord Byron war der Mann, wie ihn sich die vorhergehende Zeit in ihrem Dichten und Denken geträumt hatte, namentlich unsere deutsche Poesie; auf den Höhen des Lebens geboren, und doch voller Begeisterung für die Freiheit; ein Bezauberer aller Herzen, und doch mit unglücklichem Streben fortwährend einem beständig schwindenden Ideale nacheilend. . . . Ein großer Teil seines Ruhmes gehört seinen Schwächen an, welche zugleich die Schwächen seines Zeitalters waren, aber er hat durch die Kühnheit und Energie seines Geistes die zerstreuten Verirrungen seines Zeitalters gewaltsam zusammengefaßt und sie dadurch ihrer Heilung zugeführt. . . . Sie sind in ihm in einem classischen Bilde zum Abschluß gekommen.[1]

The publication of the first two cantos of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* in 1812 made Byron the literary lion of his day in England. His fame was enhanced during the next four years by *The Giaour, The Bride of Abydos, The Corsair, Lara, Hebrew Melodies, The Siege of Corinth,* and *Parisina.* Ostracized from British society in 1816 he began to produce on foreign soil his best work: from 1816 to 1822 the third and fourth cantos of *Childe Harold,* his *Prisoner of Chillon, Manfred, Cain, Heaven and Earth,* not to mention the less serious *Don Juan,* 1819; further, his *Mazeppa, Marino Faliero, Sardanapalus, The two Foscari, The Deformed Transformed,* and others which did most to establish permanently his literary reputation on the Continent. All these later works had to contend against a prejudice in England, which was furthermore offended at *Don Juan* and shocked at *Cain.* Byron showed the sincerity of his enthusiasm for freedom by espousing the cause of the Greeks. When he died of fever at Missolonghi in April, 1824, the Greeks begged to bury him on their soil, but his body was returned to England and long refused a resting place in Westminster Abbey.

In Germany, on the other hand, Byron had many admirers even during his lifetime. Among the earliest and most enthusiastic of these were Friedrich Jacobsen and Elise von Hohenhausen. While residing in Ravenna, Byron received a letter from an admirer unknown to him. He noted in his diary:

> In the same month [July or August, 1819] I received an invitation into Holstein from a Mr. Jacobsen (I think) of Hamburgh, also by the same medium a translation

[1] J. Schmidt, *Die Grenzboten,* 1851, IV 41, 54.

of Medora's song in the *Corsair* by a Westphalian baroness, . . . with some original verses of hers (very pretty and Klopstockish) and a prose translation annexed to them on the subject of my wife ["Fare thee well"]; as they concerned her more than me, I sent them to her together with Mr. Jacobsen's letter. It was odd enough to receive an invitation to pass the summer in Holstein, while in Italy, from people I never knew. The letter was addressed to Venice. Mr. Jacobsen talked to me of the "wild roses growing in the Holstein summer." Why then did the Cymbri and Teutones emigrate?[2]

Friedrich Johann Jacobsen prepared in 1820 a work entitled *Briefe an eine deutsche Edelfrau über die neuesten englischen Dichter*. He is said to have gathered the materials for this work in England. It was a handsome book, illustrated with copperplate engravings of the leading English poets; the music to six of the English songs was given, including Byron's "Fare thee well." The careers of Moore, Wordsworth, Southey, Scott, Crabbe, Rogers, and Byron were recounted; Shelley and Keats were overlooked. Many quotations and translations from the authors were discussed together with several critical opinions; Byron was treated last and with the greatest care. From this work one could derive a fairly accurate opinion of his personality and of the background against which he stood. The account contained several excerpts from the leading English magazines regarding him, beginning with Walter Scott's comments in the *Quarterly Review*. The work was rather expensive and was sold to subscribers, among whom were the Hamburg brothers Salomon and Henry Heine, and their nephew no doubt was one of its readers. In 1828 the first complete translation of Byron's poems into German was produced by the joint efforts of thirteen authors,[3] three of whom made use of Jacobsen's work, which the *Hallische Literaturzeitung* described as "das Vollständigste und Lehrreichste, was in Deutschland über die neueste Dichterperiode unseres Schwesterlandes geschrieben ist."[4] This moderately good work was Jacobsen's only contribution to the cult of Byron in Germany. Jacobsen died two years later.

The "deutsche Edelfrau" to whom the thirty-nine letters of Jacobsen were addressed was Elise von Hohenhausen, as the contemporary critics correctly surmised. She was also the Westphalian baroness who sent greetings to Byron in Ravenna, together with the poems mentioned above. She became widely known as an enthusiast for Byron and as the translator of several of his minor poems in 1818 and of his *Corsair* in 1820. Later, in 1827, she translated Byron's *Cain* and *Prophecy of Dante*, and wrote poems commemorating the events of his life, but in a treatise written twenty years later, *Rousseau, Goethe, Byron; ein kritisch-literari-*

[2] *The Works of Byron*, ed. Coleridge and Prothero, London, 1903, XI 426.
[3] Later translations by Böttger, 1839, Gildemeister, 1865. *Re* numerous individual poems cf. Flaischlen [1343] and Ochsenbein [1379].
[4] Ochsenbein [1379] 44.

scher Umriß aus ethisch-christlichem Standpunkt, 1847, she turned from panegyrics to censure. She passed the summer of 1818 in Hamburg, where she associated with the circle of rich merchants to which the Heines belonged, and she was possibly first to call Heinrich's attention to Byron. Heine's translation of "Fare thee well" was perhaps written at her suggestion, or even in competition with her version, which appeared in 1818; but again perhaps not, for this poem was on everyone's lips at the time.[5]

Heine's earlier interest in Byron reached the stage of enthusiasm when, in Bonn, he fell under the influence of August Wilhelm Schlegel, who challenged him to translate the opening scenes of *Manfred*. Heine attacked not only these lines but parts of *Childe Harold* as well, and began to write the strongly Byronic *Almansor*. In 1821 he was in Berlin and attended the gatherings of the admirers of Byron in the salon of Elise von Hohenhausen. When sufficiently urged he read his own poems in her salon, where they were received somewhat coolly by the guests, but were extolled by his patroness as genuinely Byronic.[6] In his first collection of poems Heine not only included some translations but also the Byronic tragedy *William Ratcliff*, thus courting comparison. For a year or two after this he had little to say about Byron and did not even participate in the "Philhellenismus" of the day, perhaps because it was becoming too much of a commonplace to suit his fancy. In the *Harzreise*, 1826, he represents himself as talking to two ladies on the Brocken in an ironical fashion:

> Ich glaube, wir sprachen auch von Angorakatzen, etruskischen Vasen, türkischen Shawls, Makkaroni und Lord Byron, aus dessen Gedichten die ältere Dame einige Sonnenuntergangsstellen, recht hübsch lispelnd und seufzend, rezitirte. Der jüngern Dame, die kein Englisch verstand und jene Gedichte kennen lernen wollte, empfahl ich die Übersetzungen meiner schönen, geistreichen Landsmännin, der Baronin Elise von Hohenhausen, bei welcher Gelegenheit ich nicht ermangelte, wie ich gegen junge Damen zu tun pflege, über Byrons Gottlosigkeit, Lieblosigkeit, Trostlosigkeit, und der Himmel weiß was noch mehr, zu eifern.[7]

On the occasion of Byron's death in 1824 Heine wrote two letters to friends, in which he lamented the death of his "cousin" Lord Byron, and a letter to his friend Moser, in which he said:

> Byron war der einzige Mensch, mit dem ich mich verwandt fühlte, und wir mögen uns wohl in manchen Dingen geglichen haben; scherze nur darüber soviel Du willst. Ich las ihn selten seit einigen Jahren: man geht lieber um mit Menschen, deren Charakter von dem unsrigen verschieden ist.[8]

[5] *Ibid.*, 56. Cf. Melchior [1378] 6.
[6] *Ibid.*, 83 f.
[7] Heine, *Werke*, IV 57.
[8] *Heinrich Heines Briefwechsel*, ed. Hirth, München, 1914, I 315, 319.

Heine did his utmost to persuade Moser to write an article for a leading literary journal heralding him as Byron's successor. Eventually Heine could thank him for refusing, for now Willibald Alexis and even Wilhelm Müller and Karl Immermann, former admirers of Byron, were beginning to warn against the Byronic fever. Immermann, in 1827, made some distinctions between Byron and Heine which pleased him better and he wrote early in the same year:

> Wahrlich, in diesem Augenblicke fühle ich sehr lebhaft, daß ich kein Nachbeter oder, besser gesagt, Nachfrevler Byrons bin, mein Blut ist nicht so spleenisch schwarz, meine Bitterkeit kömmt nur aus den Galläpfeln meiner Dinte. . . . Von allen großen Schriftstellern ist Byron just derjenige, dessen Lektüre mich am unleidiglichsten berührt.[9]

When due allowance has been made for both pose and personal vanity this self-characterization is essentially just.

Not all the miscalled "Weltschmerz" in Heine's poetry stems from Byron. Heine's early taste in reading was for the satiric and the melancholic. He read Cervantes, Swift, Vulpius, E. T. A. Hoffmann, and the more gruesome folksongs, and held converse with Josepha, the daughter of the Düsseldorf executioner. At the same time his unfortunate love affairs inclined him to morbid introspection.

Heine's early translations of Byron left their traces on his poetic production of his next period. His affinity was with the early Byronic hero who made a display of his sufferings and appeals for sympathy. The defiance of the later Byron he could never affect in his poetry, though to be sure he once assumed it for a portrait and wrote beneath it:

> Verdroßnen Sinn im kalten Herzen tragend
> Schau ich verdrießlich in die kalte Welt.[10]

The term "Weltschmerz" has been frequently misapplied to Heine's malady. "Armut, Krankheit, Judenschmerz,"[11] were the real causes of his melancholy, and his bearing toward the world was necessarily less noble than Byron's. An occasional thrust at the world sufficed the lordly Byron, while Heine was constantly at sword's point with the "Philister" to whom he was perforce subservient.

In two early poems of Heine the relation to Byron seems rather direct. For his *Almansor* Heine had access to the Spanish sources. He was also familiar with Fouqué's treatment of the subject in *Der Zauberring*, but in order to reinforce the dramatic elements of his work he drew upon

[9] Heine, *Werke*, IV 122. Cf. Immermann in *Jahrbuch für wissenschaftliche Kritik*, 1827, 767.
[10] Melchior [1378] 78.
[11] Ochsenbein [1379] 787.

Byron's *Giaour, The Bride of Abydos, Lara,* and *The Siege of Corinth,*[12] not only for situations and characters but also for poetic diction, though to Immermann he wrote: "Die vermaledeite Bildersprache, in welcher ich den *Almansor* und seine orientalischen Consorten sprechen lassen mußte, zog mich ins Breite."[13]

Byron's "The Dream" bears a certain relation to Heine's *Traumbilder,*[14] but a still closer one to his *William Ratcliff.* Byron imagines himself to be visiting the home of his early love, Mary Chaworth. He finds her surrounded by beautiful children, but in her marriage unhappy to the verge of madness. Heine applied the mood and situation to his unhappy relations with his Hamburg cousin and by suppression of rhyme he succeeded in reproducing Byron's effect of severely restrained passion. At one time he called *William Ratcliff* "ein Gefühlsplagiat,"[15] at another time more frankly "eine Hauptkonfession."[16] The names, to be sure, as well as many of the supernatural motifs in this one-act tragedy, are taken from the novels of Scott.

In his poetry of the North Sea Heine thought himself an innovator in German literature, as certain references in his private correspondence show. But here he was mistaken. True, the *Gudrun* left the North Sea almost undescribed and Goethe's sea poetry referred to the Mediterranean but Brockes had described the North Sea in his usual minute fashion, on its storm-tossed waves Herder had captured the mood for the reading of Ossian's *Fingal,* and Friedrich Leopold von Stolberg was a genuine sea poet. For the romanticists the sea had chiefly a symbolic value, but in Wilhelm Müller at least Heine had an immediate predecessor. In sea-girt England such poetry had flourished even before the days of Shelley and Byron. It is the Mediterranean, to be sure, that dominates in these poems, while Heine describes the entirely different North Sea, but his does not entirely exclude Byronic influence, especially if we assume Elise von Hohenhausen as an intermediary. A contemporary reported that she made a trip to Hamburg in 1819, "um sich an den Ufern des Meeres durch eigene Anschauung die malerischen Schilderungen des britischen Dichters lebhafter zu vergegenwärtigen."[17]

We may exclude from consideration here several German authors who have merely made Byron the theme of literary works,[18] or who have used

[12] *Ibid.,* 198.
[13] *Heinrich Heines Briefwechsel,* 1914, I 211.
[14] Ochsenbein [1379] 172. Cf. Melchior [1378] 79 f.
[15] Ochsenbein [1379] 179.
[16] *Heinrich Heines Briefwechsel,* I 208.
[17] Schindel, *Die deutschen Schriftstellerinnen des 19. Jahrhunderts,* Leipzig, 1823, I 220.
[18] Cf. Porterfield in MPh, XII (1914) 65 ff., 297 ff.

his themes after him, and still others who have tried to imitate the Oriental coloring of his poems, but there remain three important, often overlapping, groups:[19] the "Philhellenes," the "Young Germans," and the "Weltschmerzler." "Philhellenismus" counted Wilhelm Müller and Wilhelm Waiblinger as its leaders, while Platen with his *Polenlieder*, Gustav Pfitzer with his *Griechen- und Polenlieder*, and Ferdinand Gregorovius with his *Magyarenlieder* spread more broadly the cry for freedom. German political conditions, however, received the largest share of attention. Among the leading political poets in Austria were Joseph Christian Freiherr von Zedlitz, Anastasius Grün, Nikolaus Lenau, Karl Beck, Moritz Hartmann, Alfred Meissner, and Robert Hamerling; in Germany, Herwegh, Dingelstedt, Prutz, Hoffmann von Fallersleben, Freiligrath, Strachwitz, and Waldau. To say, however, "Byron war der Vater der modernen politischen Lyrik,"[20] is to generalize too freely. It has been demonstrated that Freiligrath, for example, turned to political poetry quite independently, and that although there are in his later political poetry echoes of the English poetry he knew so well, reminiscences of Byron are rather less frequent than those of Moore and others of less note.[21] What is true of Freiligrath's beginnings as a political poet may well be true of many of his contemporaries.

Not only Heine but nearly all his "Young German" confederates as well fell under the spell of Byron, felt themselves to be akin to him, or answered in some way to his call. It has been said of them:

> Byron war ihr Held, weil er aristokratisch-revolutionär, freiheitsbegeistert und ichsüchtig, glücklich-unglücklich, fanatisch und splienig zugleich war, oder ihnen wenigstens so aussah. Und nicht zuletzt lebte er sich unbekümmert vor den Philistern aus, was die meisten Jungdeutschen samt Publikum nur zu träumen wagten. So kommt es, daß er tatenschwachen Dichtern und Schönschreibern neben Napoleon als Poet der Tat erscheint. Die geniale Freiheitspose über alles! Byron wurde hundertmal mehr als Künstler denn als Engländer angesehen. Nur oberflächlichere jungdeutsche Liebhaber der englischen Literatur nannten ihn echt-englisch. Heine allein sagte, er sei unenglisch.[22]

Börne attributed Byron's "Weltschmerz" to pure philanthropy. "Melancholie ist die Freudigkeit Gottes. Kann man froh sein, wenn man liebt? Byron haßte die Menschen, weil er die Menschheit, das Leben, weil er die Ewigkeit liebte. . . . Ich gäbe alle Freuden meines ganzen

[19] Wilhelm Müller, *Lieder der Griechen*, 1821–1824, Wilhelm Waiblinger, *Lieder der Griechen*, 1823; also Rückert, Daumer, Bodenstedt, Hammer, Leopold Schefer, Heine in his *Reisebilder*, Zedlitz in his *Todtenkränze* and Adolf Fr. von Schack in his *Lothar*. *Re* Zedlitz see Spink [1387].

[20] Weddigen [1342] 46.

[21] Gudde [1255] 915.

[22] Schoenemann in MLN, XXXIII (1918) 170 f.

Lebens für ein Jahr von Byrons Schmerzen hin."[23] Börne felt that he missed being a Byron by a mere accident of birth.

> Vielleicht fragen Sie mich verwundert, wie ich Lump dazu komme, mich mit Byron zusammenzustellen? Darauf muß ich Ihnen erzählen, was Sie noch nicht wissen. Als Byrons Genius auf seiner Reise durch das Firmament auf die Erde kam, eine Nacht dort zu verweilen, stieg er zuerst bei mir ab. Aber das Haus gefiel ihm gar nicht, er eilte schnell wieder fort und kehrte in das Hotel Byron ein. Viele Jahre hat mich das geschmerzt, lange hat es mich betrübt, daß ich so wenig geworden, gar nichts erreicht. Aber jetzt ist es vorüber, ich habe es vergessen und lebe zufrieden in meiner Armut. Mein Unglück ist, daß ich im Mittelstande geboren bin, für den ich gar nicht passe.[24]

For Gutzkow, Byron exemplified a chief tenet of the "Young German" school, that poetry should participate in contemporary life and render service for the welfare of society. In his essay, *Über Goethe im Wendepunkt zweier Jahrhunderte*, 1836, he charged Goethe with inconsistency. "Weltliteratur," he said, was for Goethe a flight from the contemporaneous, yet Goethe used Byron's highly propagandic poetry as a shining example of "Weltpoesie." It appears today that Gutzkow was inaccurate in the first element of his charge. Wienbarg ranked Heine higher than Byron because Heine was the more thoroughgoing revolutionist, and Menzel placed him lower for a similar reason. Laube, in his *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, written in the confines of Castle Muskau in Silesia in 1826, was compelled to avoid political implications. He took occasion however to deny that Heine was a literary dependent of Byron or that he attempted to pose as a German Byron.[25]

The term "Weltschmerz" was first applied rather indiscriminately to personal as well as to altruistic grief on the part of the poet, and much that goes by the name of Byronism did not owe its origin exclusively to the poet. Byronic ravage was due more to predisposition than to contagion. Heine, Lenau, Grillparzer, and Grabbe in their relations to Byron all afford, at most, interesting psychological problems.

Skepticism, dissatisfaction with life, and contempt of it, hatred of convention, defiance of society, admiration for strong individuals, and disparagement of women are characteristic of both Byron and Grabbe, but the existence of a benevolent deity Byron alternately doubts and postulates, while Grabbe consistently denies it. The difference in their poetic quality is, in part at least, explained by their different situations in life. There may have been some Byronic influence in *Herzog Theodor von Gothland*, which Grabbe had written before coming to Leipzig in 1820, but which he revised before publishing in 1822. During the interval

[23] Börne, *Gesammelte Schriften*, Hamburg, 1862, IX 93.
[24] *Ibid.*, VIII 113.
[25] *Op. cit.*, Stuttgart, 1838–1840, IV 215 ff. Cf. Wienbarg, *Aesthetische Feldzüge*, ed. Kerr, Hamburg and Berlin, 1919, 231 ff.

Byron had become popular in Germany, and it is likely that Grabbe read among other poems Byron's *Cain*. In Grabbe's loosely constructed *Gothland* precisely the nonorganic parts are suggestive of Byron, and may have been inserted later. There is external as well as internal evidence of Grabbe's familiarity with Byron before the beginning of his second poetic period. Grabbe begins his essay *Über die Shakespearomanie* with the remark:

> Lord Byron sagt in seinem *Don Juan* etwas spöttisch, Shakespeare sey zur "fashion" geworden. Ich gestehe vorläufig, daß mir in der englischen schönen Literatur nur zwei Erscheinungen von hoher Wichtigkeit sind: Lord Byron und Shakespeare,—jener als die möglichst poetisch dargestellte Subjectivität, dieser als die ebenso poetisch dargestellte Objectivität. Lord Byron, in seiner Art so groß als Shakespeare, mag gerade wegen seines verschiedenen dichterischen Characters nicht das competenteste Urtheil über ihn abgeben.[26]

Other references to Byron might be quoted, but the testimony of Grabbe's friend Ziegler is sufficient to the effect that he and Grabbe read Byron together during the latter's furlough in 1834. Despite their titles there are no significant similarities between Byron's *Don Juan* and Grabbe's *Don Juan und Faust*. Strong resemblances exist however between Byron's *Cain* and Grabbe's *Don Juan*, which contains elsewhere reminiscences of *Manfred*, *Lucifer*, and *Childe Harold*. Echoes of Byron are to be found also in the Hohenstaufen dramas and it is possible that Grabbe's *Napoleon*, V, 1, was suggested by Byron's stanzas on the battle of Waterloo.[27]

The indebtedness of Lenau to Byron is of a more general nature, even though parallels of line to line might be shown. The basis of the relation is a common "Weltschmerz," skepticism, and despair, all of which are more deeply founded than with Heine. Like Byron too, Lenau was driven across the seas in the vain search of happiness. Lenau's first long composition, *Faust*, his *Savonarola*, his *Albigenser*, and his *Don Juan* are the most Byronic of his works.

Grillparzer read Byron's earlier works after he had finished *Blanca von Castilien* and before he wrote *Die Ahnfrau*, and nearly all of Byron's passionate "Räuber- Geister- Liebes- und Leidensgeschichten"[28] contributed something to one tragedy or another of Grillparzer, *The Bride of Abydos* the most of all. *The Corsair*, *Lara*, *The Giaour*, and *The Siege of Corinth* all lent their share, in good part without Grillparzer's being conscious of it, but with *Marino Faliero*, at least, it was otherwise. Grillparzer had planned to write a *Marino Falieri* but Byron had anticipated

[26] Grabbe [641] 439.
[27] Wiehr [1374] 149.
[28] Wyplel [1376] 27.

him. Grillparzer read not only Byron's *Marino Faliero* but also the works that followed it, *The two Foscari*, and *Sardanapalus*. When he received a commission to write a play for the coronation of Kaiserin Carolina Augusta, he chose for some reason as his main character Banus Bank (Bancbanus). The historical person of this name was as unlike Marino Faliero as is conceivable, but Grillparzer made him into a Marino, assigning his incompatible characteristics to his brother Simon. In this way Grillparzer was able to utilize in his drama *Ein treuer Diener seines Herrn*, 1828, much of the material he had originally intended for his *Marino Falieri* and it is not remarkable that a large amount of the characterization, action, and phraseology of this drama parallels closely parts of the three works of Byron he had studied so intently.[29]

It cannot be said that Goethe owed to Byron any positive or new literary impulse; Goethe was already too advanced in years for that. At most Byron helped to kindle his enthusiasm, quicken his literary zeal, and demonstrate that at the age of sixty-seven he was still able to create ideal characters no less interesting than their living prototypes. It was at the suggestion of Knebel that Goethe read in May, 1816, *The Corsair* and *Lara*[30] and the next month *The Prisoner of Chillon* with growing interest in the author. Byron gradually attracted Goethe more and more as he had earlier repelled him by his hypochondriac passion and his violent self-hatred.[31] In Goethe's "Nachlaß" there is a translation of Byron's "Fare thee well" in the handwriting of Weller, the librarian at the University of Jena and dated November 24, 1817. For several years it was regarded as probably a translation by Goethe. Comparison with notes in Knebel's diary makes it clear, however, that the translation is by Knebel, written just before his seventy-third birthday.[32]

Meanwhile *Manfred* had brought Goethe to the stage of enthusiasm. Theodore Lyman of Boston presented him with a copy of the poem, October 11, 1817. Goethe read it immediately[33] and like many another reader noted echoes of his own *Faust*. In reality Byron's impressions of *Faust* were somewhat hazy. Unable to read German, he provided "Monk Lewis" in 1816 with "bread and salt" while Lewis translated *Faust* to him by word of mouth.[34] *Manfred* occupied Goethe's spare moments for several weeks and, on December 2, he completed an unrhymed translation of the opening incantation.[35] Goethe's review of *Manfred* in *Über*

[29] Wyplel [1375] 679.
[30] *Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Knebel*, ed. Guhrauer, Leipzig, 1851, II 189; Goethe, *Werke*, III (5) 233 f., IV (28) 131.
[31] Goethe, *Werke*, III (6) 56, 62, IV (28) 131, I (36) 108.
[32] Leitzmann [1382].
[33] Goethe, *Werke*, IV (28) 277; cf. *ibid.*, III (6) 121 f.
[34] *The Works of Byron* (cf. fn. 2, above) XI 97.
[35] Goethe, *Werke*, III (6) 143.

Kunst und Alterthum is an odd production, in which he brings Byron's genius into relation with his own:

Dieser seltsame geistreiche Dichter hat meinen *Faust* in sich aufgenommen und hypochondrisch die seltsamste Nahrung daraus gesogen. Er hat die seinen Zwecken zusagenden Motive auf eigne Weise benutzt, so daß keins mehr dasselbige ist, und gerade deßhalb kann ich seinen Geist nicht genugsam bewundern.[36]

Goethe conceived *Manfred* to be a highly subjective work and therefore forced his interpretation to harmonize with certain misinformation he had gleaned from Lady Caroline Lamb's novel *Glenarvon*.[37] He published his somewhat inexact translation of the "Bannfluch" in *Über Kunst und Alterthum*, in 1823.[38]

In return Byron wished to dedicate his *Marino Faliero* to Goethe. But the attacks on Southey and Wordsworth and the flippant tone of the dedication led the publisher to suppress it. Byron then desired to inscribe to Goethe his *Sardanapalus*, 1821, and asked his friend Kinnaird, a former student at Göttingen, to obtain Goethe's express consent. This gave Goethe his first opportunity to convey indirectly to Byron a personal expression of his regard:

Seit seinem ersten Erscheinen begleitete ich, mit näheren und ferneren Freunden, ja mit Einstimmung von ganz Deutschland und der Welt, jenes charakter-gegründete, gränzenlos productive, kräftig unaufhaltsame, zart-liebliche Wesen auf allen seinen Pfaden. Ich suchte mich mit ihm durch Übersetzung zu identificiren und an seine zartesten Gefühle, wie an dessen kühnsten Humor mich anzuschließen; wobey denn, um nur des letzteren Falles zu gedenken, allein die Unmöglichkeit, über den Text ganz klar zu werden, mich abhalten konnte, eine angefangene Übersetzung von *English bards and Scotch reviewers* durchzuführen.

Von einem so hochverehrten Manne solch eine Theilnahme zu erfahren, solch ein Zeugniß übereinstimmender Gesinnungen zu vernehmen, muß um desto unerwarteter seyn, da es nie gehofft, kaum gewünscht werden durfte.

Kinnaird had sent to Goethe a copy of the proposed dedication of the book in Byron's handwriting. Goethe would gladly have retained it as a keepsake.

Die Handschrift des theuren Mannes erfolgt ungern zurück, denn wer möchte willig das Original eines Documents von so großem Werth entbehren? Das Alter, das denn doch zuletzt an sich selbst zu zweifeln anfängt, bedarf solcher Zeugnisse, deren anregende Kraft der Jüngere vielleicht nicht ertragen hätte.[39]

But Byron's intentions were foiled for a second time. Again the dedication was omitted by Murray, the publisher, either by intent or by acci-

[36] *Ibid.*, I (41:1) 1, 189; cf. *ibid.*, IV (28) 277 f.
[37] *Ibid.*, III (6) 119, 125 f., 16; cf. I (36) 128.
[38] *Ibid.*, I (3) 201–203.
[39] *Ibid.*, IV (36) 204 f.; letter of November 12, 1822.

dent. At Byron's insistence there appeared at last in *Werner* a dedication, briefer and more simply phrased than before.

Goethe received *Werner* from Byron in March, 1823. His opinion of the work is nowhere recorded, but Knebel began translating it in June. After finishing the first scene he began to seek collaboration in the circle of Ottilie Goethe and Charlotte Schiller.[40] The latter expressed interest but at the time of Knebel's death the translation was incomplete.

In 1818 Goethe had tried to get into direct communication with Byron, who was then in Venice. He provided Schopenhauer with a letter of introduction to Byron, which Schopenhauer for interesting reasons failed to deliver.[41] In the following year Goethe spoke enthusiastically of Byron to two Americans, J. G. Cogswell and George Bancroft. From them he learned of Byron's *Don Juan*, of which he translated a passage for *Über Kunst und Alterthum*.[42] In January, 1821, he read Jacobsen's *Briefe an eine deutsche Edelfrau*.[43] This led him to consult Byron's *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*, which he planned to translate. Communication was resumed in 1823 when Charles Sterling, a young Englishman, arrived in Weimar, with a letter from Byron, to which Goethe replied with a poem "An Lord Byron" greeting him as a kindred spirit, a poet who finds in poetry relief from the distresses of life:

> Wohl sei ihm doch, wenn er sich selbst empfindet!
> Er wage selbst, sich hoch beglückt zu nennen,
> Wenn Musenkraft die Schmerzen überwindet;
> Und wie ich ihn erkannt, mög' er sich kennen.[44]

The poem reached Byron in Italy and he answered from Livorno. Goethe had reason to expect that Byron would visit Weimar on his return from Greece.[45] Byron's death at Missolonghi affected Goethe deeply. He paid his homage to him in the Euphorion lament in *Faust II*.[46]

He sought also to perpetuate the memory of his connection with Byron. On June 15, 1824, he dictated to his secretary John some memoranda on the subject which were destined for Medwin's *Conversations of Lord Byron*.[47] He served on the committee which erected the Thorwaldsen statue of Byron in London in 1829.[48] He also planned to set up a memorial of his own, which was to be based on the contents of a red

[40] Leitzmann [1382].
[41] Eimer [1368].
[42] Goethe, *Werke*, III (8) 7 ff. and 24. Cf. Mackall [1186] 7 ff. and 33.
[43] *Ibid.*, I (36) 192.
[44] *Ibid.*, I (4) 18.
[45] Eckermann, *Gespräche*, 83; December 4, 1823.
[46] Cf. Baldensperger in RC, XCIV (1927) 33.
[47] *Op. cit.*, London, 1824, 278 ff. Cf. Goethe, *Werke*, III (9) 230.
[48] Valentin [1364] 243.

portfolio and was to be a document in the history of "Weltliteratur" as Goethe used that term. It therefore included an account of how Goethe's works became known in England and so eventually to Byron. The outline, still in the Weimar archives, shows interesting gaps in Goethe's knowledge of the appreciation of his own works in England.[49] He showed this portfolio to Eckermann in 1826,[50] and also put it into the hands of Robinson at Weimar, in 1829. Robinson copied out certain parts of it and sent them to Moore as material for his *Life of Byron*, but Moore apparently never received them.[51]

We have Goethe's opinion of *Marino Faliero* and certain other works through the uncertain medium of Eckermann's *Gespräche* and through Robinson's *Diary* notes of 1829. According to Robinson, Goethe preferred *Heaven and Earth* to all the other poems of Byron. When Robinson read Byron's *Vision of Judgment Day* Goethe exclaimed: "Heavenly! Unsurpassable!"[52] Tieck called Goethe's admiration for Byron an infatuation. Tieck himself cared little for *Manfred* but liked the *Hebrew Melodies*.[53]

Goethe owed to Byron a stimulation of his poetic instinct rather than any definite literary suggestion. Byron owed to *Faust* some of the supernatural suggestions in his poetry. A more specific indebtedness may be perceived in *Cain*, in *Manfred*, in the *Deformed Transformed* and in *Heaven and Earth*. Byron moreover owed largely to Goethe the high esteem in which he was held in Germany. Continental critics have always reproached England with lack of sympathy for her great poet. It is proper to point out then that the curve of his fame might have taken a similarly abrupt descent in Germany but for the word of Goethe. Byron reached the height of his popularity in Germany about 1817; but reports of his declining fame in England were repeated in the German journals,[54] and when *Beppo*, 1818, and *Don Juan*, 1819, appeared, Willibald Alexis and Friedrich Schlegel protested. Even Goethe was compelled to take note of the criticism,[55] but admiration predominated. To Boisserée he wrote: "Dieses Gedicht ist verrückter und grandioser als seine übrigen. Immer dieselben Gegenstände, aber mit höchstem Talent und Meisterschaft behandelt."[56] In his *Über Kunst und Alterthum* he wrote: "*Don Juan* ist ein gränzenlos-geniales Werk, menschenfeindlich bis zur herb-

[49] Brandl [1363] 29.
[50] Eckermann, *Gespräche*, 220; March 26, 1826.
[51] Robinson, *Diary*, II 434–436.
[52] *Ibid.*, II 435 f.
[53] *Ibid.*, II 443.
[54] Ochsenbein [1379] 22 f.
[55] Goethe, *Werke*, I (41:1) 249.
[56] *Ibid.*, IV 32, 205.

sten Grausamkeit, menschenfreundlich in die Tiefen süßester Neigung sich versenkend."[57] Goethe's review of *Cain*[58] marked a turning point in criticism. The German journals ceased to echo the English opposition and now began to speak of Byron's work with favor, and presently we find German criticism complimenting itself for establishing Byron's reputation "as it had once claimed to have established Shakespeare's."

[57] *Ibid.*, I (41:2) 247.
[58] *Ibid.*, I (41:2) 94–99.

Chapter XXIII

SCOTT AND THE HISTORICAL NOVEL

In 1811 Ludwig Tieck, returning from England, brought home his copy of Walter Scott's earlier novel *Waverley*, which, he later told Goethe, was the first to find its way into Germany.[1] The European fame of Scott did not begin, however, until the appearance of *Ivanhoe* in 1819.[2] Goethe first became acquainted with Scott's work by reading *Kenilworth* in 1821. He recognized Scott's "vorzügliches Talent, Historisches in lebendige Anschauung zu bringen,"[3] but said to Kanzler Müller, October 12, 1823: "Von Scott habe ich nur zwei Romane gelesen und weiß nun was er will und machen kann. Er würde mich immerfort amüsieren, aber ich kann nicht aus ihm lernen. Ich habe nur Zeit für das Vortreffliche,"[4] but in 1828 we find Goethe expressing himself to Eckermann in the opposite sense, saying that *Waverley* "ohne Fragen den besten Sachen an die Seite zu stellen ist, die je in der Welt geschrieben worden," and on March 9, 1831, Goethe said:

> Man liest viel zu geringe Sachen, womit man die Zeit verdirbt und wovon man weiter nichts hat. Man sollte eigentlich immer nur das lesen, was man bewundert, wie ich in meiner Jugend tat und wie ich es an Walter Scott erfahre. Ich habe jetzt *Rob Roy* angefangen und will so seine besten Romane hintereinander durchlesen. Da ist freilich alles groß, Stoff, Gehalt, Charaktere, Behandlung.[5]

Between 1823 and 1831 Goethe read Scott's *The Black Dwarf*, *The Abbot*, *The Fair Maid of Perth*, *Rob Roy*, *Ivanhoe*, and even the *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte*, and he made use of his *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft* for the battle scene in the fourth act of *Faust II*. On several occasions he discussed with Eckermann Scott's technique in detail but dismissed the suggestion that he set forth his views on paper, on the ground, "daß die Kunst in jenem Schriftsteller so hoch stehe, daß es schwer sei, sich darüber öffentlich mitzuteilen."[6]

It has sometimes been assumed that the novels of Walter Scott came too late in Goethe's life to affect in any way his literary production but a recent critic has well-nigh proved the contrary.[7] The completion of the Helena drama was a difficult task. By 1821 Goethe had already planned to transfer the scene of the meeting of Faust and Helena from the Rhineland to Arcadia near Sparta. The death of Byron in April, 1824, gave

[1] Eckermann, *Gespräche*, 412.
[2] Schmidt [1494] 227 and Wenger [1495] 23 ff.
[3] Goethe, *Werke*, III (8) 139–141, 146, I (36) 192.
[4] *Goethes Gespräche*[2], ed. Biedermann, Leipzig, 1910, III 23.
[5] Eckermann, *Gespräche*, 410, 605.
[6] *Ibid.*, 608.
[7] Needler [1507].

Goethe the necessary impetus to conclude the work, which was then sent to Cotta in January, 1825. Between 1821 and 1824 Goethe must have thought of many details of the execution. When he read *Kenilworth* he was especially pleased by the scene of the magnificent reception Leicester planned for Elizabeth on her arrival at the castle. The dignity of the occasion was somewhat marred when the porter at the gate, befuddled with too much ale, failed to note the arrival of the queen's procession betimes, and only by prodding and prompting was able to recite the verses he had been compelled to learn. In a footnote Scott noted that the verses were in imitation of the lines spoken by the porter in Gascoigne's "Princely Pleasures of Kenilworth." This information must have interested Goethe and led him to procure Gascoigne's *History of Kenilworth*, in which the account appeared, for on March 2, 1822 he sent the work to Dr. Bran, calling his attention to the scene in *Kenilworth*, "woselbst wir mit Walter Scott so gern verweilen."[8] Here Goethe had before him an account which could serve him in good stead for the pageant scene of the arrival of Helena at Faust's magic castle, and even the watcher, now not befuddled but bedazzled by the beauty of Helena, fails to acquit himself properly of his task.

Goethe appreciated Scott's early interest in *Götz von Berlichingen* and mutual admiration led to an exchange of interesting letters. In the first of these, January 12, 1827, Goethe referred to the recent death of Byron, to Scott's early translation of *Götz von Berlichingen*, and to the popularity of Scott's works in Germany. In a letter written March 10, 1832, Goethe expressed the hope of seeing Scott at Weimar, for Scott was traveling then in Italy;[9] but the letter was written only a few days before Goethe's death, and Scott himself died in the same year.

Julian Schmidt characterized the influence of Walter Scott in Europe as the greatest any author of the nineteenth century had exerted. "Der einzige, der mit ihm rivalisieren könnte (Goethe in seinen wirksamen Schriften rechne ich zum achtzehnten Jahrhundert), Lord Byron, hat zwar schneller gezündet, aber das Feuer, das er erregt, ist auch schneller vorübergegangen."[10]

Of prime importance is a fact which critics of today are likely to overlook: Scott was a reformer of the art of writing history, and probably few nineteenth-century European historians entirely escaped his influence. As Julian Schmidt said:

Am Ende des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts herrschte in der Geschichtschreibung die schottische Schule. Von der Aufklärung des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts ausgegangen,

[8] Goethe, *Werke*, IV (35) 277.
[9] *Ibid.*, IV (42) 13–15, IV (49) 26 f., 444 f.
[10] Schmidt [1494] 149. His numerous comments in his *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur* and in *Die Grenzboten*, 1848–1862, are summarized in Price [1260] 110 f.

hatten Hume, Robertson und die übrigen sich vor allen Dingen bemüht, diejenigen Fragen, welche der politische Verstand als das Wesentliche im Fortschritt der neueren Zeit begreift, an die Vorzeit zu legen und so klar als möglich zu beantworten. Ihre Methode war der entschiedenste Rationalismus mit allen Vorzügen und Schwächen dieser Richtung. Von einer colorierten Darstellung der Eigentümlichkeiten einer bestimmten Zeit, der Irrationalitäten in den großen historischen Charakteren, war bei ihnen keine Rede. Ihre Helden traten ohne Unterschied im Kostüm und in der Redeweise des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts auf. Daß in der neuesten Zeit die Geschichtschreiber den entgegengesetzten Weg eingeschlagen haben, daß sie sich überall bemühen, jedes Zeitalter mit seinem eigenen Maß zu messen, jeden historischen Charakter als ein Kunstwerk für sich zu betrachten, und die Lokalfarben in lebendigen Schilderungen wiederzugeben, anstatt sie im glatten nur scheinbar erzählenden Raisonnement zu verflüchtigen, ist unstreitig eines der Hauptverdienste unseres Dichters.[11]

Scott was more popular in Germany than the German romantic historical novelists, who were quite independent of him at the outset. He and they represented two different phases of the European romantic trend. The German romanticists bored their readers by seeking to deduce the idea from history; Scott, on the other hand, fascinated the public by reproducing the picturesque phases of the past. The German romanticists mystified their readers by trying not only to acquire but also to adopt the Middle Age point of view when writing of the Middle Ages; Scott wrote of past periods from the point of view of an interested observer of the present. Furthermore, he was more realistic and more optimistic than his German contemporaries. Julian Schmidt, the theorist of poetic, that is to say of optimistic, realism, naturally approved the English tendency.

Der Realismus in der Poesie wird dann zu erfreulichen Kunstwerken führen, wenn er in der Wirklichkeit zugleich die positive Seite aufsucht, wenn er mit Freude am Leben verknüpft ist, wie früher bei Fielding, Goldsmith, später bei Walter Scott und theilweise auch noch bei Dickens.[12]

Scott gave to his novel a symmetry hitherto unknown. Schmidt advocated this form as a standard: "Wenn der Roman seinen Zweck erfüllen soll, so muß er sich denselben Gesetzen fügen, wie das Drama, einem Gesetz, das z. B. in den Romanen W. Scotts stets sich geltend macht, seine schönste Form aber in Goethes *Wahlverwandtschaften* erreicht."[13] Schmidt's colleague on the *Grenzboten*, Freytag, adopted this standard in his criticism and prepared himself for his own work by a study of Scott's technique.[14]

[11] *Die Grenzboten*, 1855, II 50; Schmidt [1494] 160.
[12] *Ibid.*, 1855, II 55.
[13] *Ibid.*, 1847, IV 208; 1851, II 53. Cf. Schmidt [1494] 206.
[14] *Ibid.*, 1851, IV 266 (review of Hackländer's *Namenlose Geschichten*), 1854, I 320–338 (criticism of Alexis).

Directly or indirectly the historical novel of the nineteenth century, or from 1820 on, is descended in large measure from Walter Scott's novels. The fondness for old documents and historical antiquities became especially marked in Germany and led to many once popular works by Riehl, Scheffel, Freytag, Raabe, and others. This interest was first to decline. Later Scott's method of pageantizing history came to be regarded as superficial and was superseded by an interest in the conflict of social classes. Today the important characters of history are analyzed psychologically and a mainspring of action, preferably an abnormal one, is laid bare. Such works are, however, usually not called historical novels but biographies. In that Scott substituted a romantic and colorful conception of history for a rationalistic one, in which all men were regarded as essentially alike, his novels are the remote ancestors of such biographies, but the inherited characteristics are scarcely recognizeable.

By the early 1820's Scott's novels had become so popular that his name was exploited for personal profit by indigent writers. A sequence of novels appeared between 1822 and 1827, purporting to be translations or adaptations of works by Walter Scott, but which were in reality the products of such authors as F. P. E. Richter, K. H. L. Reinhardt, Heinrich Müller, and August Schäfer. The imitations were of the poorest sort and could not have deceived any intelligent admirer of Scott. In two of his novels Müller borrowed names and atmosphere from Ossian more literally than from Scott. At top speed he produced in 1823 and 1824 five novels, all purporting to be based on works of Scott. Another writer chose an easier course. *Jacobine oder die Ritter des Geheimnisses*, "Ein historischer Roman, nach dem Englischen des Walter Scott bearbeitet von F. P. E. Richter" is not even an original. F. P. E. Richter is the pseudonym of Wilhelmine von Gersdorf, and her novel is a free adaptation of another work, *Jacobine von Holland*, which had been popular at the time of its appearance in 1791.[15]

From the earliest possible time van der Velde, Tromlitz, Spindler, and Rehfues have been regarded as followers of Walter Scott. Van der Velde, however, had begun writing historical novels before the Waverley novels were known to him. The dramatic elements in his works stem from his admiration for Kotzebue and Schiller. Otherwise he owes most to Vulpius, Cramer, Lafontaine, Wächter, and Benedicte Naubert. Here it should be noted that works of these authors were well known to Scott. Tromlitz, Spindler, and Rehfues were of the school of van der Velde rather than of Scott.[16]

[15] *Re* these and similar imitations see Bachmann [1497].
[16] Matthey [1523].

Among the earliest important German novelists to show some signs of the influence of Scott were Tieck, Alexis, and Hauff. Tieck, to be sure, was somewhat condescending in his criticism of Scott's novels. As Julian Schmidt said:

> Tieck stellte die großen Vorzüge des schottischen Romanschreibers keineswegs in Abrede. Es scheine ihm nur eine Kleinigkeit zu fehlen, aber diese Kleinigkeit, setzte er hinzu, ist gerade das, was den Dichter vom Nichtdichter unterscheidet. Die Dichter der [deutschen] romantischen Schule, sehr gefeiert aber herzlich wenig gelesen, konnten sich des dringenden Verdachts nicht erwehren, daß ein Schriftsteller, der die rohe Menge zu gewinnen wisse, nothwendig mit dieser Menge verwandt sei.[17]

Der Aufruhr in den Cevennen, 1826, and Scott's *Old Mortality* lend themselves to comparison since both treat of a religious insurrection, but Tieck's novel is a product of his rationalistic period. He shows his opposition to fanaticism, bigotry, superstition, and social uprising, while Scott remains as a rule an unpartisan narrator. Scott tries to reproduce historical scenes, while Tieck seeks to discover the idea of history.[18]

In Tieck's *Der wiederkehrende griechische Kaiser*, first drafted in 1804 before the Waverley novels were written, but not completed until 1830, and in the *Hexen-Sabbath*, 1832, there is a closer approach to the manner of Scott. The philosophical and the psychological problems are kept more in the background and concrete pictures of the times are more prominent. Tieck's *Vittoria Accorombona*, 1840, suggested by Webster's drama *The White Devil*, is both directly and indirectly related to Scott's novels. The indirect influence came in part by way of France, where Vigny, Mérimée, Balzac, and Victor Hugo had presented realistic pictures of the past under the inspiration largely of Scott. Manzoni's *I Promessi Sposi*, 1827, is the best evidence of a like influence in Italy. Manzoni shared with Scott the conscientious fidelity to the facts of history, but he surpassed him in the realism of his descriptions. So Tieck had for his novel models from England, Scotland, France, and Italy. In it there are plastic scenes of the past such as were lacking in his earlier works. Here we have a picture of a complicated cultural epoch, full of interesting contrasts, a historical novel after the manner of Walter Scott. So Tieck seems finally to have succumbed, and to his own advantage, to the method of Scott.

Willibald Alexis (Wilhelm Häring) was the next important novelist to be drawn into the current. As early as 1822 he had published in Zwickau a metrical translation of *The Lady of the Lake*. He had long believed it possible for another to write a novel after the manner of Walter Scott, and a conversation with friends in Breslau in 1823 led him to

[17] Schmidt [1494] 148.
[18] Wenger [1495] 95.

undertake the feat himself. The three-volume novel, *Walladmor, frei nach dem Englischen des Walter Scott, von W. . . .*, 1823, was written in a single summer, when Alexis was but twenty-five years old. He planned a work which should confound not only the readers but also the critics. In his *Erinnerungen* he recounts his strategy:

> In allerhand krause, buntromantische Begebenheiten mußten zwei Personen verwickelt werden, ein junger Deutscher und ein mystischer Engländer. Beide erscheinen als Sammler. Jener geht darauf aus, zu einem englischen Roman in neuer Manier Stoffe aufzufinden und stößt dabei überall auf einen Unbekannten, der ihm in die Quere kommt, weil er dasselbe will, bis es am Schluß sich ergiebt, daß es der große Unbekannte selbst ist. Nun handelte es sich um die Frage, ob der kleine Unbekannte nicht dasselbe Recht zur Herausgabe habe, als der große Unbekannte.[19]

To the discomfiture of the reader, this unknown person then reveals himself as none other than Walter Scott himself. Alexis drew most heavily upon *Waverley* and *Guy Mannering*, but to some extent also upon *The Pirate*, despite his recollection to the contrary.[20]

Alexis succeeded according to his expectations and without great effort. From the first he was sure that he could imitate Scott's manner or surpass it at will. "Diese Mystifikation war für mich ein reines Spiel, ohne große Absicht auf Erfolg, eine tolle Laune des Übermutes, die hinaus mußte, je schneller, desto besser, um wieder zu mir selbst zu kommen und zu dem, was ich für besser hielt."[19] Herein lies the interest of *Walladmor*. It shows the hand of the master rather than the pupil. Alexis rarely departed from the style of Walter Scott, but when he deviated he did so purposefully. The accuracy of his touch in this *tour de force* promised much for his future development.

Schloß Avalon, "frei nach dem Englischen des Walter Scott, vom Übersetzer des *Walladmor*," 1827, shows that Alexis had gone a step further in his study of Scott's style. Not content with merely exposing the weaknesses of Scott's novels, he attempted here to carry through actual betterments. As early as 1821 Alexis had noted:

> Es ist zu verwundern, weßhalb Walter Scott, der fast in allen Romanen und Dichtungen den alten Ruhm des Hauses Stuart verherrlicht, niemals das letzte, schon an sich so höchst romantische, Unternehmen des Kronprätendenten Eduard zum historischen Hintergrunde seiner Dichtungen genommen hat.[21]

Choosing just this background Alexis let the action extend over a long period of years in order to introduce the necessary historical perspective; also he added a second passive hero. He borrowed several character

[19] *Op. cit.*, ed. Ewert, Berlin, 1900, 269.
[20] Kohler [1510] 29.
[21] *Jahrbücher der Literatur*, XV (1821) 145.

types, and situations out of Scott's stock, but his aim was different—to write a historical novel, rather than a novel of cultural history.[22]

Alexis had become aware as early as 1821 that when Scott's novels were put together they constituted a panorama of the development of Scotland in the recent past. This served as a challenge to the German novelists, and Alexis was the first to respond. With his *Cabanis* 1832, he began a series of novels treating of the development of Prussia, but here too he was no servile imitator of Scott. Scott's aim had been to dramatize the personal conflicts of the leaders of history, and his problem was to reconcile this dramatic effort with the epic form which he had chosen. His solution was the passive hero, who is always on hand to witness the dramatic conflicts. To this method he adhered from first to last. With a weaker dramatic interest than Scott's, Alexis was interested in the contending forces of history rather than in their representatives, but he had learned from Scott the value of the dramatic style of narration. Scott's epic-dramatic compromise he adopted tentatively at first, experimented then with other forms, surpassed him in one attempt, *Die Hosen des Herrn von Bredow*, 1846, fell below him thereafter, and finally returned humbly and too late to the method of the master.[23]

In his novelistic work Alexis showed a keen appreciation of the real merits of his master. Like Scott he first makes us thoroughly acquainted with the topography of the country which is to be the scene of the action. Then he shows us how our present-day conditions have developed out of the conditions he describes—hence, as Julian Schmidt said, his chief virtue.

> Er versucht es niemals, jene sogenannte Objektivität anzustreben, die alle Vermittlung ausschließt, wie es auch Scott niemals versuchte. Er schreibt nicht, wie ein Schriftsteller jener Zeit geschrieben haben würde, sondern wie ein Schriftsteller der Gegenwart, der die Vergangenheit lebhaft empfindet. So ist auch allein die wahre Objektivität möglich.[24]

Elsewhere Julian Schmidt says:

> Es fehlt Willibald Alexis nur wenig, um für sein Vaterland, Preußen, die Stelle W. Scotts einzunehmen, aber dies Wenige ist freilich entscheidend. Auf seine Jugendbildung hatte die romantische Schule einen entscheidenden Einfluß, namentlich Hoffmann. Seine Novellen enthalten phantastische, oft fratzenhafte Gestalten und unheimliche Situationen, vermischt mit langen Gesprächen über Kunst und Literatur.[25]

Hebbel, on the other hand, wrote to Alexis, June 11, 1843, after reading

[22] Fischer [1509] 11 ff., 50 ff.
[23] Korff [1508], summarized in Price [12] 502–506.
[24] *Die Grenzboten*, 1852, III 487.
[25] J. Schmidt, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur im 19. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig, 1855, III 253 f., 262, and 487.

Der falsche Waldemar, that he regarded the work as "ein entschiedener Schritt über Walter Scott hinaus."[26]

Thus it has been the custom of contemporary critics and of most later critics as well, to judge Alexis by the standard of Scott. Alexis himself was not entirely content with this. In the introduction to *Die Hosen des Herrn von Bredow* he wrote: "Ohne jenen Meister, dessen Nachahmer ich oft genug genannt werde, hätte ich [den Weg] nicht gefunden. Ich glaube indes unsere Wege hätten sich lange getrennt."

The close relation of Hauff's *Lichtenstein* to the Waverley novels has always been an accepted fact and the only unsettled question has been which of Scott's novels was most closely related to *Lichtenstein*. One critic said *Ivanhoe*, a second *Waverley*,[27] and a third found that *Lichtenstein* and Scott's *The Abbot* had basically the same plot.[28] Drescher investigated all of the novels of Scott which, he said, Hauff demonstrably knew. Unfortunately he took as his starting point Hauff's "Studie über zwölf Romane Walter Scotts."[29] Here he was misled for this " Studie" is nothing more than a series of notes based on the reading of an extensive review of Scott's works which Willibald Alexis had contributed to the *Wiener Jahrbücher der Literatur* in 1823. In the manuscript, found after his death, Hauff dated these notes 1826, that is to say some time after the first twelve chapters of *Lichtenstein* had been sent to the printer in December 1825.[30]

Gustav Schwab, who was a close friend of Hauff, remarked that there was visible in the best-known works of Hauff "bald ein Scott, bald ein van der Velde, und so gar hier und dort ein Clauren."[31] That Scott, van der Velde, and Hauff should have much in common might well have been expected, for all had read and admired in their younger days the works of such earlier historical novelists as Leonard Wächter, Benedicte Naubert, Clauren, Vulpius, and Spiess. There are times, however, when Hauff deviates from the manner of Scott to approach that of van der Velde, and if the action of *Lichtenstein* parallels that of certain Waverley novels, it parallels plots of van der Velde as well. The "Ritter von Lichtenstein,"

[26] Thomas [1511] 209.

[27] Eastman [1513], Carruth [1514].

[28] Substituting in Scott's novel Mary Stuart for the prince, the following formula describes both novels: The hero joins the government with no great enthusiasm; is suspected of being a spy; joins the prince's side through a sense of wrong, the fascination of the prince, and the influence of the heroine, whose father is also on the prince's side; spends some time at a castle with the heroine and prince; fights in the losing battle of the prince; the prince flees the land, the hero is pardoned (with others), marries the heroine, and retires to a hereditary castle. Thompson [1517] 568. Cf. *ibid.*, 566.

[29] Drescher [1516].

[30] Matthey [1523] 117 f., 135–137.

[31] *Ibid.*, 116.

it may be noted here in passing, never existed. They were first imagined by van der Velde in his narrative *Die Lichtensteiner* which had appeared a few years before Hauff's novel.[32] In view of these considerations it behooves us to inquire what Hauff himself said of his relation to Walter Scott.

The fourth chapter of the posthumously published essay, or rather skit *Die Bücher und die Lesewelt* begins with the remark:

> Mein Entschluß stand fest, einen historischen Roman à la Walter Scott mußt du schreiben, sagte ich mir, denn nach allem, was man gegenwärtig vom Geschmack des Publikums hört, kann nur diese und keine andere Form Glück machen. Freilich kamen mir bei diesem Gedanken noch allerlei Zweifel; Ich mußte die Werke dieses großen Mannes nicht nur lesen, sondern auch studieren, um sie zu meinem Zweck zu benützen.

The ironic tone of the whole essay might deter the reader from accepting this declaration literally. However, in the introduction to *Lichtenstein* Hauff wrote in no ambiguous terms of Scott. Why is it, he asked, that we in Germany are almost more familiar with the Scottish history than our own, and he answers: "[Es ist] meist nur der große Unbekannte . . . der diesen Zauber bewirkte." Hauff seems to have regarded *Lichtenstein* as the first panel of a panorama of Swabian history.

In one respect Hauff stands closer to Scott than did Tieck and Alexis. In a letter to his friend Carl Herloßsohn, Hauff declared that he was "weder gegoethet, noch getieckt,"[33] and in the "Studie über zwölf Romane Walter Scotts" there is the remark:

> Seit *Wilhelm Meister* und schon zuvor, kamen Kunstromane bey uns an die Tagesordnung. Man wollte unter Roman nicht mehr die Lebensbegebenheiten des Helden verstehen, sondern die Aufstellung und Entwicklung der herrschenden Ansicht über Kunst oder sonst ein Thema des geistigen Lebens. Die sogenannte Geschichte war Nebensache.

To be sure this passage, like practically all of Hauff's so-called "Studie" is transcribed from Alexis's review of Scott's novels in the *Jahrbücher der Literatur*.[34] Alexis implied that this was an example not to be followed, but it may be observed that Hauff derived more profit from the warning than did Alexis.

In the earlier-mentioned chapter of *Die Bücher und die Lesewelt* Hauff refers to the popularity of "Scott und die beiden Amerikaner." The latter reference is no doubt to Cooper and Irving. It has been observed that there is a close resemblance between the figure of Hauff's Pfeiffer von

[32] *Ibid.*, 118.
[33] Hans Hofmann, *Wilhelm Hauff*, Frankfurt, 1902, 63.
[34] *Ibid.*, 229. Cf. Alexis on Scott, *Jahrbücher der Literatur* XXII (1823) 4.

Hardt in *Lichtenstein* and that of Harvey Birch in Cooper's *The Spy*, written in 1821 and translated in 1824, and that the two characters play a similar role. There is also the favored situation of friendship and love between men and women on opposite sides of a struggle and the succoring and rescuing of opponents by the heroes, but Cooper's share in *Lichtenstein* is at most incidental.[35]

Washington Irving may have lent the original suggestion for other works of Hauff. Hauff probably knew at least *Sketch Book*, *Bracebridge Hall*, and *Tales of a Traveller*. There may have been a connection between *Das kalte Herz*, *Jud Süß*, and the *Phantasien im Bremer Rathskeller*, on the one hand, and *The Legend of Sleepy Hollow* and *Rip Van Winkle*, on the other. Still closer is the connection between Hauff's "Rahmenerzählung," *Das Wirtshaus im Spessart*, and Irving's similarly constructed story, *The Italian Banditti*, in the *Tales of a Traveller*, as evinced not only by plot and incident but also by a large number of closely parallel passages.[36]

In contrast to the critical Alexis, Gustav Freytag was a lifelong admirer of the "father of the modern novel," as he called Scott.[37] Freytag began reading Scott when a boy of fourteen at the Gymnasium at Oels. "Die Fülle und heitere Sicherheit dieses großen Dichters," he says in his *Erinnerungen*, "nahmen mich ganz gefangen." Cooper later rivaled Scott in Freytag's favor: "Beide sind mir noch heute Hausfreunde geblieben," he wrote in 1887, "mit denen ich oft verkehre, und ich habe ihrer freudigen, frischen Kraft vieles zu danken."[38]

Freytag began his literary career as a dramatist under the influence of the Young Germans. In the readjustment of the revolutionary period he found himself, from 1848–1862, the colleague of Julian Schmidt on the *Grenzboten*. Schmidt, the opponent of the Young Germans and the admirer of English institutions and English literature, had much influence upon his co-worker. Contemporary opinion regarded Freytag as the creative demonstrator of Schmidt's literary theories.[39] Freytag's preferences alone, however, would have led him to Scott when he turned from the drama to the novel. In about 1853 he began to realize that the novel was now the proper vehicle for the conveyance of his views of life: "Mir war es ein Bedürfnis [*Soll und Haben*] zu schreiben, nebenbei um zu versuchen, wie man einen Roman macht."[40] The future author of the *Technik des Dramas* naturally had a strong interest in novelistic form as well;

[35] Brenner [1412].
[36] Plath [1453].
[37] Freytag, *Gesammelte Werke*, Leipzig, 1896, XVI 220.
[38] *Ibid.*, I 73.
[39] BlU 1855, 445.
[40] *Gustav Freytags Briefwechsel mit Eduard Devrient*, Braunschweig, 1902, 137.

moreover he regarded it as the especial merit of Walter Scott that he had introduced the dramatic form into the novel:

> Der Aufbau der Handlung wird in jedem Romane, in welchem der Stoff künstlerisch durchgearbeitet ist, mit dem Bau des Dramas große Ähnlichkeit haben. . . . Auch die Teile der Handlung sind in der Hauptsache dieselben wie im Drama: Einleitung, Aufsteigen, Höhepunkt, Umkehr und Katastrophe.

Then after showing how he had striven to follow this plan in *Soll und Haben*, Freytag added:

> Es hat Jahrhunderte gedauert, bevor die Handlung der Romane zu künstlerischer Durchbildung gelangt ist, und es ist das hohe Verdienst Walter Scotts, daß er mit der Sicherheit eines Genies gelehrt hat, die Handlung in einem Höhepunkt und in großer Schlußwirkung zusammenzuschließen.[41]

Due allowance must be made for differences of poetic temperament. Scott wrote abundantly and without seeming effort. Freytag was a conscious artist. The form which Scott hit upon at the outset and followed thereafter as the line of least resistance, Freytag recognized as resulting from the nature of the novel, and he adopted it for that reason. Both Scott and Freytag had an antiquarian interest, but Freytag rejected on principle the scholarly ballast and the footnotes of Scott. Both were interested in the development of the present out of the past. If certain of Scott's novels are put together they constitute an "Ahnenreihe." But Freytag's *Die Ahnen* was more deliberately planned than Scott's. In his novels, as in Scott's, we find the passive, somewhat commonplace hero and the historical one, but Freytag keeps the latter more in the background. Both Scott and Freytag, however, as a result of a common personal trait, avoid love scenes in their novels as much as possible, and this lends a similar austerity to their works.

In his *Die Ahnen* Freytag merely developed further, according to his artistic conception, the historical novel, introduced by Scott and already imitated in various ways by various German novelists. His novel *Soll und Haben*, on the other hand, helped to usher in a new phase of Scott's influence in Germany. It is here necessary to distinguish in the Waverley novels two types; the one headed by *Ivanhoe*, 1819, was based on Scott's study of works of history, and it was this group that gained for him his continental reputation. The other group, of which *Guy Mannering*, 1815, is typical, is made up of novels, the material for which was gathered by observation and oral tradition, and this became a fresh starting point for the German "Dorfnovelle" and "Dorfroman." The characters, drawn from actual life with representatives of the economically useful classes

[41] Freytag, *Werke*, I 180. Cf. *Die Grenzboten*, 1851, IV 266.

of society, were particularly wholesome examples to later German writers. It has been pointed out that the introduction to *The Antiquary* might have served Auerbach as a program for his village tales. David Deane is comparable to Auerbach's Wadeleswirth, Dandie Dinmont and Hobbie to characters in Gotthelf's stories.[42] His biographer wrote of Gotthelf:

> Er las . . . ziemlich viel, und zu seinen Erholungen gehörte auch ein Leseverein mit einigen Freunden, in welchem namentlich Walter Scott beliebt war. Wir haben von Universitätsfreunden von Bitzius die Behauptung gehört, daß die Vorzüge dieses Schriftstellers, die Feinheit der Charakteristik, die psychologische Wahrheit, nicht ohne Einfluß auf Bitzius' Geist gewesen und auch in seinen Schriften noch nachgewirkt hätten, was leicht möglich ist.[43]

Scott did not write village tales as separate works but he included them episodically in novels, for example, in *The Heart of Midlothian*. He also presented city types, as for instance the London merchant Osbaldistone, in a similar fashion and brought city and country types into contact. Freytag's T. O. Schröter in *Soll und Haben* is a character drawn like Scott's from actual observation. In such original characters as Pix and Specht in *Soll und Haben* and Gabriel and Hummel in *Die verlorene Handschrift* the influence of Dickens has been suggested.[44] It is not always easy, nor is it especially important, to distinguish Scott's influence from that of Dickens in a matter like this.

More important is a practical conclusion which might be drawn from both. In an essay of 1853, which may be regarded as an advance program of *Soll und Haben*, Freytag expressed his dissatisfaction with the prevailing German novels and asked "weshalb so gar wenig von dem Leben der Gegenwart darin zu finden ist." He answered: "Die Antwort darauf ist leider, weil unsere Romanschriftsteller in der Mehrheit sehr wenig, ja zuweilen so gut wie gar nichts von unsrem eigenen Leben, von dem Treiben der Gegenwart verstehen." He cited Gotthelf as an exception and held up the career of Scott as an example for German novelists:

> Als Walter Scott anfing, seine Romane zu schreiben, war er selbst schon lange Gutsbesitzer, Landbauer, Jäger, Kommunalbeamter seines Bezirkes, nebenbei freilich auch gelehrter Altertumsforscher und Literaturhistoriker. Und durch eine Reihe von Jahren hatte er mit all den Urbildern seiner Gestalten, in den Landschaften, welche er für die Kunst lebendig machte, in Wirklichkeit verkehrt, hatte sich selbst kräftig und tätig gerührt. Daher ist auch Männerarbeit geworden, was er geschrieben hat, eine Freude und Erquickung für die Besten seines Volkes und die Gebildeten aller Völker.[45]

[42] Schmidt [1494] 227 and 211. Cf. Price [1260] 23 and 21.
[43] C. Manuel, *Albert Bitzius*, Berlin, 1827, 26.
[44] Ulrich [1502] 79 f.
[45] *Die Grenzboten*, 1853, I 77–80 and in Freytag's *Vermischte Aufsätze*, Leipzig, 1901–1903, II 432. Cf. Price [1260] 99 ff.

Herein Freytag received the full support of his colleague. *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* undertook, Julian Schmidt said,

die Verherrlichung des Adels und der Künstler im Gegensatz gegen die Verkümmerung des Bürgertums. . . . Das Ideal seines Lebens war harmonische Ausbildung aller Kräfte. Diese war aber nur den bevorzugten Ständen oder den Vagabunden möglich, denn der Bürger ging in einseitiger Tätigkeit unter und hatte innerhalb der Gesellschaft keine Ehre.[46]

But while Goethe wrote, a social revaluation was taking place of which he himself was unconscious. *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre, Guy Mannering,* and *Soll und Haben,* all three treat of the justification of the existence of the leisure class, but Goethe laid stress primarily on the "Mensch an sich" rather than on man in his relation to his work. Goethe knew and appreciated labor.

Einzelne Beschreibungen in den *Wanderjahren* gehören zu dem Vollendetsten, was in dieser Beziehung geleistet worden ist. Allein die Arbeit erscheint doch wie ein Triebrad, das die Individualitäten zu bloßen Teilen herabsetzt. Das wahrhaft Menschliche, das individuelle Leben, ist verloren gegangen. Der einzelne . . . gibt seine Persönlichkeit um der Arbeit willen auf. Er betrachtet sich als einen Entsagenden.

This, Schmidt said, was wrong. The individual should find in his work the best opportunity for expressing his personality. "Der Mensch soll sich seinem Beruf nicht als eine Maschine fügen, er soll sich in der ganzen Kraft seines Gemüts, seiner Eigentümlichkeiten, ja seiner Launen dabei betätigen.[47]

This wholesome relation of man to his work was best revealed in the English novel, in which men of definite occupations had long played the chief roles. Scott, and after him Freytag, were less tender in their treatment of the leisure class than Goethe. Scott believed in the value of good blood and deplored the decline of the nobility, yet he pictured "als tendenzloser, getreuer Berichterstatter,"[46] what he saw taking place. Freytag treated the same phenomenon with a distinct "Tendenz." He aimed to demonstrate:

Der Edelmann, der heute noch in der alten Weise fortleben will, der sich nicht den Ernst und die Folgerichtigkeit der bürgerlichen Arbeit aneignet, geht unter und verdient es unterzugehen, so liebenswürdig seine Erscheinung sein mag.[48]

Industrial evolution was bound in time to bring a new type of novel into Germany, but the example of the literature of England, where the evolution was further advanced, and particularly of Walter Scott's life

[46] Schmidt, *Geschichte . . .,* III 359. (See fn. 23, above.)
[47] *Ibid.,* I 235 f. Cf. *Die Grenzboten,* 1855, II 453.
[48] Schmidt [1494] 193.

and novels hastened the entry into Germany of the new type of novel. In it the characters occupy a definite place in the economic world, supplanting, to a large extent, the preëxisting type in which the development of the hero's personality is the main theme.

Otto Ludwig joined the opposition to the tendencies of "das junge Deutschland," but he lacked the optimism of the *Grenzboten* and had to be content with the rueful benevolence of its editors. Like Freytag he was interested in the technique not only of the drama but of the novel, and like him he found his authorities chiefly in England. Ludwig's *Epische Studien* are deliberately subordinated to his *Shakespeare-Studien*. He found the spirit of Shakespeare's dramas in the English novel.[49] He devoted particular attention to Scott's *Antiquary* and *Astrologer*. Like Freytag he derived from Scott his theory of the structure of the novel, which he expressed however in quite different terms. It is the task of the novelist

> eine Fabel zu entwerfen, in der alle Figuren eigentlich bloß Hilfslinien an einer geometrischen Figur, Gerüste an einem Baue sind, und dann diese Figuren so auszuführen, daß sie vollkommen selbstständig und mit eignem Kerne versehen erscheinen und doch bei allem Reichtum ihres Details nicht aufhören, jene bloßen Hilfslinien zu sein; wie jedes Organ möglichst emanzipiert ist, und doch keins zu einem Nebenherzen der Geschichte selbst wird. Das ist die epische Schlankheit und Geschlossenheit, die über der epischen Breite nie verloren werden darf. Die epische Breite gehört bloß der Ausführung, nicht der Erfindung.[50]

In other particulars, too, Ludwig cited the practice of Scott with approval, recognizing his authority more than once where it conflicted with that of Dickens.[51]

As novelists Ludwig and Scott were comparable. They were somewhat alike in their ultimate purposes, their portrayal of character, their painting of landscapes, and their technique in general. Striking similarities of incident might also be suggested, but how misleading these are is shown by the fact that *The Antiquary* and *The Heart of Midlothian* lend themselves most readily to such comparisons, yet precisely these novels Ludwig did not read until he had completed his own fictional work.[52] It can however be stated with certainty that Ludwig in his youth read with zeal most of the Waverley novels, that they made a deep impression on him, and they may have helped inspire him to describe his Thuringians as Scott had described his fellow-countrymen, that is to say, in such a way as to win sympathy for their virtues and indulgence for their faults.[53]

[49] Ludwig, *Schriften*, VI 65, quoted p. 351, below.
[50] *Ibid.*, VI 122.
[51] *Ibid.*, VI 71, VI 94.
[52] *Ibid.*, VI 83, 91.
[53] Scott, Introduction to *Waverley*.

The last of the great followers of Scott in the nineteenth century was Theodor Fontane. In *Meine Kinderjahre* he recalls the joy of hearing his father read Scott's novels in Swinemünde.[54] A little later he tells of his delight at finding Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, which, with Percy's *Reliques*, buoyed up his poetic passion for several following years.[55] There has been some difference of opinion as to whether Fontane is to be regarded as a follower of Alexis or of Walter Scott. Doubtless he learned discriminatingly from both. Tschirch, the biographer of Alexis, reports that Fontane said he never came into close contact with Alexis and only in later life became intimately acquainted with his novels.[56] This must be based only on oral report, for Fontane gives a somewhat different account of his relation to Alexis in his published recollections. When Fontane compares Scott and Alexis directly it is usually to the advantage of Scott. In his essay on Alexis, he says Scott is an "Altromantiker," Alexis only a "Neuromantiker." Scott possesses "Großhumor," Alexis "Kleinhumor." Scott is the better teller of tales, even if he is often biased, superficial, and incorrect. He is a freer artist: "Er wußte jeden Augenblick, daß er nicht Historiker sondern eben nur Geschichtenerzähler war." And again comparing the styles of the two, he says "[Scotts ist] leicht und glatt, Alexis' schwer und knörrig. Über die Dialoge des einen geht es hin wie eine Schlittenfahrt über gestampften Schnee, über die des anderen wie eine Staatskarosse durch den märkischen Sand."[57]

The most definite question is that concerning the relation of *Vor dem Sturm* to its predecessors. In a letter to his publisher Fontane admitted only the most general indebtedness to Scott: "Ich habe mir vorgenommen, die Arbeit ganz nach mir selbst, nach meiner Neigung und Individualität zu machen, ohne jegliches Vorbild; selbst die Anlehnung an Scott betrifft nur Allgemeines."[58] *Vor dem Sturm* is like Alexis's *Isegrim* in that it deals with many characters in different stations of life, and in that both are "episodenhaft." Both novelists treat of a historic time of the recent past—the Napoleonic era. But Scott, too, wrote, by preference, of the recent past. In what may properly be called the main part of his narrative, Fontane followed closely a pattern laid down by Scott's *Waverley*. The plots of the two have been summarized:

The hero, a young impressionable man of romantic bent, is captivated by the charms of a brilliant, worldly girl. A close relative of the latter (brother and father

[54] Fontane, *Gesammelte Werke*, Berlin, 1902–1912, Reihe 2, II 106.
[55] *Ibid.*, Reihe 2, III 22.
[56] Otto Tschirch, *Willibald Alexis* . . ., 1899, 224.
[57] Fontane, *Aus dem Nachlaß*, ed. Ettinger, Berlin, 1908, 215–217.
[58] Fontane, *Gesammelte Werke*, Reihe 2, X 246.

respectively) is an ambitious man, who encourages the match in order to strengthen his worldly position. After the hero has been rejected in his first love, he comes to realize his affection for a naïve, domestic girl who has been fond of him for a long time, and whom he marries after his character has been seasoned by military experiences.[59]

Furthermore there are abundant parallels of character and situation, chiefly to *Waverley* but also to *Guy Mannering* and *The Antiquary*.[60]

Fontane placed great emphasis on the "form" of the novel. If by "form" one understands exclusively the architectonics of construction, then Fontane is quite independent of Scott. But if one includes the technique of narration, then the influence of Scott is predominant not only in *Vor dem Sturm* but in other novels of Fontane.[61] A conscious artist, he read Scott in part to discover the secrets of his style. Incidentally it was but natural that he should acquire, partly unconsciously, some of his mannerisms. Scott too liked to take the reader by the arm, lead him across the countryside, and play the cicerone. Even more than Scott, Fontane preferred "den gemütlichen Plauderton." Fontane, like his characters, preferred a question left open to a dogmatic assertion. Both Scott and Fontaine were restrained in the expression of romantic love. Scott regretted the passing of the feudal age and wished to preserve its record. Moreover he delighted in telling a story for its own sake. Fontane, similarly conservative, was less naïve. He was interested in changing codes and in the moral compromises in which problematical characters were involved. It should be added that Scott was fond of dramatic scenes and conflicts, while Fontane was constitutionally undramatic. The fateful moment of the narrative is sometimes only suggested as in *Effi Briest*. What interests him is the ethical and social aftereffect. Thus Fontane preserved what was valuable to him and to us of Scott's art, without turning backward the development of the European novel.

[59] Shears [1500] 39.
[60] *Ibid.*, 47–55.
[61] Compare Shears [1500] and Paul [1501].

Chapter XXIV

THE VICTORIAN NOVEL

"Das junge Deutschland"—unlike its predecessor, the German romantic school—was chiefly interested in contemporary English life and literature. Its political principles led it to see in the English public institutions a desirable model for the German states. Börne, Gutzkow, Laube, and Mundt expressed this conviction in forthright terms.[1] On the other hand, in view of their "emancipation" ideas, partly of French origin, it is not remarkable that the "Young Germans" were predisposed against the conservatism of English customs, especially against its puritanism and sabbatarianism. At the outset they derived their picture of English social and private life from such works as Pückler-Muskau's *Briefe eines Verstorbenen* and Raumer's *England im Jahre 1835*, but some of the Young Germans visited England and brought home various reports. Mundt, for example, admitted that the British for the most part were not hypocrites.[2] Heine made many quotable remarks about British life, but they do not add up to a deliberate total judgment.[3]

The English novel of the time concerned itself little with politics but offered pictures of English life and gave expression to well established British principles and prejudices. It is but natural then that the Young Germans should view it unfavorably. An article in the *Unterhaltungen am häuslichen Herd* discusses freely "Die Ideenlosigkeit der englischen Literatur." The author, presumably Gutzkow, says: "Bekanntlich ist die englische Poesie in unserem guten Tag ganz auf die Anforderungen des Hauses, der Familie, der Tugend und der Moral gestellt. Ideen und Tendenzen, die irgendwie in Widerspruch mit dem Puritanismus geraten, finden jenseits des Kanals keinen Anklang."[4]

Other journalists wrote appreciatively of English novels and English life. F.S. (Friedrich Spielhagen) spoke of Dickens and Thackeray as "diese glücklichen englischen Dichter, die aus vollem englischen Leben schöpfen."[5] Robert Prutz attributed to the English novelists alone "diese Kenntnis des Lebens, diese scharfe Beobachtung der Wirklichkeit, diese Tiefe des Gemütes," and "diese Kraft der Darstellung."[6] Hermann Marggraf rejoiced that the Germans were now following in the path of Dickens, just as in the past they had followed in the footsteps of

[1] For representative quotations see Whyte [1236].
[2] *Ibid.*, 74 f.
[3] *Ibid.*, 37–43.
[4] *Unterhaltungen am häuslichen Herd*, 1860, 636 ff.
[5] *Europa*, 1859, 649–652.
[6] *Deutsches Museum*, 1861, 435.

Goldsmith, Sterne, Smollett, Fielding, and Walter Scott,[7] but Gottschall came to the defense of Gutzkow. He preferred Gutzkow's realism and humor to Freytag's: "Auch Gutzkow hat Humor, doch ist es nicht der Humor Cruikshank'scher Gestalten, nicht der realistische Humor von Dickens und Thackeray. Es ist ein deutscher Humor, der aus geistigen Tiefen kommt und nicht in einer Tonart aufgeht."[8] This is directly contrary to Julian Schmidt's opinion of Dickens: "Er ist auch viel deutscher, als unsre gesamte romantische Literatur von Tieck und Schlegel herunter bis auf Hebbel und Gutzkow."[9]

Before 1850 the activities of the Young Germans were largely of a journalistic nature, and for belletristic propaganda they used plays rather than novels. The novel came decidedly to the foreground in 1850 with Gutzkow's *Ritter vom Geiste*, which was acclaimed by the supporters of the Young German movement. It was more widely read than most German novels although in popularity it could not vie with that of the foreign products.

When the opposition to the Young German tendencies began about 1845, it took the form of support of English tendencies as against the prevailing phenomena of German literature. The leader of this offensive was Julian Schmidt. As Gustav Freytag says in his *Erinnerungen:*

> Indem Schmidt verurteilte, was in unserer Literatur krank war, wies er auch unablässig auf die Heilmittel hin, und wurde dadurch in Wahrheit ein guter Lehrer für die Jüngeren . . . Er hatte an allem wohl Gelungenen eine tief innige Freude . . . vor allem fesselte ihn die originelle Zeichnung der Charaktere, nächstdem die Grazie in Schilderung und Sprache. Die Darstellungsweise der englischen Dichter war ganz nach seinem Herzen, den Zauber der wundervollen Färbung bei Dickens empfand er so voll, wie nur ein Engländer jener Zeit.[10]

With the publication of his *Pelham* in 1828 Bulwer-Lytton began to succeed to the popularity of Walter Scott in Germany. Of his vogue in Germany Julian Schmidt wrote:

> Von den deutschen Schriftstellern war nicht einer, dessen Popularität gegen die seinige aufkam; nur etwa George Sand und Balzac konnten mit ihm wetteifern. Das dauerte von den ersten dreißiger bis in die Mitte der vierziger Jahre, bis Dickens, Eugene Sue und Thackeray ihn ablösten.[11]

Of Bulwer's influence Schmidt wrote further: "Faßt man die Aristokratie ins Auge, die in Gutzkows Romanen oder bei der Gräfin Hahn-Hahn auftritt, so erkennt man lauter verkleidete Pelhams, die neben den

[7] BlU 1858, 902–904.
[8] *Ibid.*, 1858, 932.
[9] J. Schmidt, *Boz, eine Charakteristik*, Leipzig, 1852, 9.
[10] Freytag, *Gesammelte Werke*, Leipzig, 1896, I 225.
[11] Schmidt [1327] 268.

Masken aus Jean Paul figurieren."[12] Regarding the justness of the assertion, as far as the Gräfin Hahn-Hahn is concerned, what reader of today can say? It is clear, however, that, for polemic purposes, Schmidt overstressed the parallel of Bulwer-Lytton with Gutzkow. By combination with other references of Schmidt,[13] which need be retraced here, we may derive the implication that Schmidt referred to such characters of Gutzkow as Oscar, "der Schlachtenmaler," in *Blasedow und seine Söhne* and Dankmar Wildungen in *Die Ritter vom Geist.* In this connection it is to be noted first that Gutzkow, in 1842, spoke disparagingly of "der schon halb wieder vergessene Bulwer,"[14] and that both Bulwer and Gutzkow claimed as ancestors of their characters the figures in the novels of Smollett, Fielding, and Le Sage.[15]

Schmidt seems furthermore to have regarded Bulwer's *Falkland* as a predecessor of Gutzkow's *Wally* but here too the evidence seems to refute the view.[16] Gutzkow's actual dependence upon Bulwer-Lytton was slight. In the introduction to his comedy *Die Schule der Reichen,* 1841, Gutzkow makes a veiled admission that he had a model, and no doubt this model was Bulwer's *Money,* 1840.[17] The year 1837 found Gutzkow under the ban of censorship, and he was compelled to write anonymously or pseudonymously. In 1832 Bulwer had written an essay called *England and the English.* To evade the censors Gutzkow published one of his treatises under the title *Bulwers Zeitgenossen.* Since the title alone was not a sufficient disguise, Gutzkow had to make some attempt to imitate the style of his model.[18]

Common to the characters of Bulwer-Lytton and of Gutzkow is a certain incalculability of action. Both novelists theorized a little on this matter, and both claimed the sanction of Sterne, but a comparison of the theories and of the practices of each shows that their incalculabilities were of a slightly different order.[19]

Charles Dickens, or rather Boz, became a household name in Germany almost as promptly as in England. His popularity was attested by the large sale of his works in the original and in translation, by the enthusiastic comments of the contemporary journals, and by the many imitations, particularly of the *Pickwick Papers.*[20]

[12] *Ibid.,* 283.
[13] Price [1328] 403.
[14] Gutzkow, *Die Zeitgenossen,* Pforzheim, 1842, II 286 f.
[15] Quoted in Price [1328] 405.
[16] *Ibid.,* 407.
[17] J. Dresch, *Gutzkow et la jeune Allemagne,* Paris, 1904, 347.
[18] Gutzkow, *Gesammelte Werke,* Leipzig, 1872, VIII vii.
[19] Cf. Price [1328] 409 f., and p. 358 below.
[20] See Gummer [1424].

One of the earliest to acknowledge a debt to Dickens was Ungern-Sternberg. Of the new realistic tone in his *Diana*, 1842, he said:

> Ich hatte mich mit dieser Arbeit völlig losgesagt von dem Märchen und Toilettenroman des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts; es wäre mir nicht mehr möglich gewesen, eine *Galathee* oder einen *Fortunat* zu schreiben. Die Engländer, besonders Boz-Dickens, mit dem ich mich zu befreunden anfing, hatten mich unmerklich in diese Bahn geleitet.[21]

Hackländer, the author of *Bilder aus dem Soldatenleben im Kriege*, 1849, was sometimes called the German Dickens. Julian Schmidt said he might have become that "wenn das deutsche Leben nicht so unendlich spießbürgerlicher wäre, als das brittische."[22] A critic in Kühne's *Europa* found Hesslein's *Die Berliner Pickwickier*, 1854, "breit und platt, als Satire plump, als Parodie trivial," and added: "Der Diener ist eine matte Kopie des bekannten Sam Wellers."[23] Karl von Holtei bore for a time the title, "der schlesische Boz." He was fond of describing the life of strolling players, and scenes in *Die Vagabunden*, 1853, and *Der letzte Komödiant*, 1863, have counterparts in *The Old Curiosity Shop* and *Nicholas Nickleby*.[24] Doubtless the list of imitators could be much extended but it would only have a symptomatic value. It is more profitable to consider novelists of greater importance.

Gustav Freytag is connected with Dickens both as a novelist and as a critic. In an essay entitled *Ein Dank für Charles Dickens* he bears witness to the "neue Stimmung" that Dickens brought into Germany. He tells us how his countrymen began to see in every Englishman a Pickwick, a Pinch, or a Traddles, or at least "einen guten und tüchtigen Kerl . . . vielleicht steif aber von sehr tiefem Gemüth, wahrhaftig, zuverlässig, treu."[25] He tells how everyone began to look even upon his neighbors with a new interest, and to find attractive characteristics unsuspected before, and how the narrow bonds of social prejudice began to break down the spell of this new magic.

Freytag himself is an excellent illustration of the early influence of Dickens in Germany. He had read at least the *Pickwick Papers* in his youth,[26] but about the year 1850 his interest was renewed. He was in need at this time of some new impulse. He had been drifting with the Young Germans, but was now breaking old connections and seeking new ones in vain. To Tieck he had written in February, 1848: "Mein Unglück ist, daß ich allein stehe, sehr allein, ich entbehre der Förderung durch

[21] Quoted by E. Weil in GS, CXXX (1932) 130 f.
[22] *Die Grenzboten*, 1849, IV 486.
[23] *Loc. cit.*, October 5, 1856.
[24] Gummer [1424] 59.
[25] Freytag [1421] 243.
[26] Freytag, *Werke*, I 90.

Mitstehende zu sehr."[27] A few weeks later he first met one of the most enthusiastic admirers of Dickens, Julian Schmidt. The conversation during their first meeting soon turned from politics to literature. "Verkehrte literarische Richtungen der Zeit" were discussed and, as Freytag says, "es ergab sich eine solche Übereinstimmung in den Ansichten, daß ich in großer Hochachtung von ihm schied."[28] From Schmidt's account it would appear that the chief "verkehrte Richtung" to come under discussion was the pessimistic mood of the writers of the day. Schmidt had rejoiced to find in Freytag's work "die Spuren einer echten Dichterseele. Einen Dichter ohne Lust am Leben, ohne erhöhten Sinn für die Wirklichkeit und was damit zusammenhängt, ohne Fülle des Gemüts habe ich mir nie vorstellen können."[29]

Shortly after this the two men joined together to take over the *Grenzboten* and edit the journal in the service of the liberal political group to which they belonged. But literary interests mingled always with political ones. "So sehr uns damals die Politik im Kopfe lag, wurde im Ganzen über Dora and Agnes mehr disputiert als über Radowitz und Manteuffel."[30] The beginnings of *Soll und Haben* go back to just about this time, apropos of which novel Hermann Marggraf wrote:

> Von Lessings dramatischen Produkten hat man wohl gesagt, daß sie gewissermaßen nur als Proben zu betrachten seien, die er gemacht habe, um die Richtigkeit seiner kritischen Rechenexempel zu prüfen. Aehnliches kann man von dem Redaktionspersonal der bekannten kritischen grünen Blätter in Leipzig behaupten, nur daß die kritischen und produktiven Fähigkeiten . . . an zwei Individuen verteilt sind.[31]

The *Grenzboten* editors, like Resewitz a century before them, found the English novel superior to the German and for a like reason. The English novelists, they said, participated in the affairs of life and profited thereby in their novels, while the Germans wrote before they had experienced anything worth recording and compounded their novels too largely out of reflections and conversations.[32]

Significant at least are the parallels of character in *Soll und Haben* and in *David Copperfield:* Steerforth and Fink; Uriah Heep and Veitel Itzig; David Copperfield and Anton Wohlfahrt; Dora Spenlow and Lenore Rothsattel; Agnes Wickfield and Sabine Schröter.[33] Both Freytag and

[27] O. Mayrhofer, *Gustav Freytag und das junge Deutschland,* BDL, I (1907) 49.
[28] Freytag, *Werke,* I 153.
[29] J. Schmidt, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur im 19. Jahrhundert*², III vii f.
[30] Schmidt [1420] 113; two other colleagues on the staff of *Die Grenzboten* shared their enthusiasm. Julius Seybt translated many of the novels of Dickens, and Jacob Kaufmann helped in the translation of at least one. Cf. Gummer [1424] 192 f.
[31] BlU 1855, 455.
[32] Freytag, *Werke,* XVI 218. Cf. Schmidt, p. 335, above; *re* Resewitz, see p. 182, above.
[33] Freymond [1428] 23 ff.

Dickens were liberal in their politics and neither scrupled to make his work the vehicle of his political ideas, while the triumph of honesty and a good heart over selfishness and dishonesty is with both authors a foregone conclusion. Such a solution was easy for both since mixed characters rarely intruded. Freytag's indebtedness is more than half confessed in his essay *Ein Dank für Charles Dickens.*

> Fast aus jedem Romane blieben rührende oder lebensfrische Gestalten fest in der Seele des Lesers . . . Auch die Sprache des Dichters geht in unsere über, seine Gedanken werden unser Eigentum, auch der Humor lebt in uns fort, er färbt immer wieder unsere Betrachtung der Menschen und erhöht uns zu heiterer Freiheit, so oft die empfangene Stimmung in uns lebendig wird.[34]

Freytag shared with Dickens "ein starkes und freudiges Gemüt voll von gutem Zutrauen zur Menschheit, nie verbittert durch das Schlechte und Verkehrte, dazu die Kenntnis des Lebens und menschlicher Charaktere, welche durch reiche Beobachtung gefestigt ist."[35] Just because Freytag's poetic creation was more labored, less spontaneous than that of Dickens, the latter's impulse was of value to him.

Need it be said that the future author of *Die Technik des Dramas* studied the art of his novelist analytically? Scott remained for him the master of novelistic structure but Dickens was the supreme humorist. Walter Scott was for Freytag "ein großer Dichter, dem es gelingt, sehr verschiedenartige Persönlichkeiten mit guter Laune lebhaft zu empfinden und darzustellen, und das Ganze der menschlichen Gesellschaft . . . mit liebevoller Zuneigung zu verstehen." Dickens, on the other hand, was "ein glänzender Dichter, dem es gelingt, einen gewissen größeren Kreis von Personen und Schicksalen mit ausgezeichnetem Humor zu empfinden."[36]

Freytag may have acquired from Dickens his affectionate interest in little things. Like Dickens he animates lifeless objects to spread good cheer and employs several other devices of Dickens with humorous effect.[37]

Freytag's *Die Journalisten* is closely connected with Dickens's *Pickwick Papers.* Freytag wrote later:

> Man muß jene Zeit in gebildeten bürgerlichen Familien durchlebt haben, um die schöne Wirkung zu begreifen, welche das Buch auf Männer und Frauen ausübte. Die fröhliche Auffassung des Lebens, das unendliche Behagen, der wackere Sinn, welche hinter der drolligen Art hervorleuchtete, waren dem Deutschen damals so rührend wie dem Wanderer eine Melodie aus dem Vaterhause, die unerwartet in sein Ohr

[34] Freytag [1421] 239.
[35] Freytag, *Werke,* XVI 218.
[36] *Die Grenzboten,* 1851, IV 264.
[37] Völk [1427] lists eleven such devices.

tönt. . . . Hunderttausenden gab das Buch frohe Stunden, gehobene Stimmung. Jeder bekannte ältliche Herr mit einem Bäuchlein wurde von den Frauen des Hauses als Herr Pickwick aufgefaßt.[38]

To be sure, a political comedy might have been expected of Freytag. Such a work belonged to the program of the Young Germans, and the life of the liberal journalist was as familiar to Freytag as to Dickens, but the relationship is close. Journal stands against journal and party against party with Freytag as well as with Dickens, and the two elections are finally decided in a similar fashion. Bolz and Piepenbrink might have stepped out of the *Pickwick Papers*, and incidents are introduced which might be interpreted as veiled acknowledgments of a debt to Boz.[39]

Still another "poetic realist" pondered on the art of Dickens and tried to make a part of it his own: Otto Ludwig's *Epische Studien* were never intended for publication. They are made up of his reading notes. They seem to have been written chiefly between 1855 and 1865, that is to say, in the decade between the completion of *Zwischen Himmel und Erde* and Ludwig's death, but Ludwig may well have made mental notes regarding Dickens before 1855 and studied his technique for practical purposes. He judged Dickens as one creative artist judges another. The two authors had something in common. With both the creative process was preceded by what Ludwig called "eine musikalische Stimmung." Characteristic of both was the minute observation of character with a detailed reproduction of every outward gesture and intimate thought. To Dickens this came easily, to Ludwig it came only after a painful tension. The typical English novel, like Shakespeare's dramas, had for Ludwig a canonical validity. In fact he recognized the Shakespearean spirit

in dem sittlichen Grundgedanken, der künstlichen Verflechtung mehrerer Handlungen in eine, in der plastischen Großheit, der Charakteristik realistischer Ideale, der Darstellung des Weltlaufs, der Illusion, der Ganzheit des Lebens, in der Mischung des Komischen selbst in das Ernsteste, ohne daß es diesem schadete, in dem Abwenden von aller Schwärmerei und hohler Idealität.[40]

Ludwig admired the mimic element in the novels of Dickens—"wahrhafte Schauspielerschulen" he called them.[41] He admired the range of expression of Miss Nipper's nose, of Captain Cuttle's hook, and of Mrs. Sparsit's eyebrows. He admired the ability of Dickens to let inanimate objects participate in the drama of life and at the same time set the human types in higher relief thereby. He admired the one-sidedness of the characters of Dickens, their "Borniertheit," resulting from their training, their occupation, their age, their passions, or their education.[42]

[38] Freytag [1421] 241.
[39] Fehse [1429].
[40] Ludwig, *Schriften*, VI 65.
[41] *Ibid.*, VI 67.
[42] *Ibid.*, VI 65.

This one-sidedness Dickens could make attractive, harmless, or repulsive—a dangerous power in such a partisan. He commended the dialogue in Dickens' novels:

> Eine Hauptsache, womit Dickens sich wie Shakespeare von z. B. Goethe und Schiller unterscheidet, ist, daß seine Figuren nie wie ein Buch sprechen dürfen. Es ist wunderbar, die reiche Variation der Mittel zu sehen, durch welche den beiden Engländern gelingt, den Dialog vom Buchartigen zu emanzipieren.[43]

But when Dickens indulged in propaganda he fell from this high standard. After reading *Hard Times* Ludwig noted:

> Nie sprechen die Leute aus dem Volke ihre eigne Sprache oder denken ihre eignen Gedanken, immer nur in einer der Volkssprache angenäherten konventionellen Weise die Gedanken des Autors über das Volk; und wie man oft fürchten muß, gemachte, zum Behufe, seiner Partei zu gefallen, gemachte. . . . Man wird von solcher Rabulisterei oft wider Willen gezwungen, stellenweise Partei gegen ihn und das Volk, seine Klienten, zu nehmen. . . . Wie tief steht er in diesem Stücke unter Shakespeare.[44]

Dickens confirmed Ludwig's views that the hero of a novel should be passive: "Im Romane ist das Ausleben der Figuren der Zweck, nicht das Handeln, wie im Drama;" and he added: "Der Dramenheld macht seine Geschichte, der Romanheld erlebt die seine, ja man kann sagen: den Romanhelden macht seine Geschichte."[45] It may be observed that the heroes of Dickens fit this description much better than those of Ludwig.

Early signs of the influence of Dickens are found in such fragments as *Das Märchen von dem toten Kinde* and *Es hat noch keinen Begriff*, but Ludwig's best known works of fiction come chiefly into consideration, his "Novellen" and his novel. In his essay, *Dickens und die deutsche Dorfgeschichte*, Ludwig wrote:

> Die Dorfgeschichte ist wie ein einzelnes Glied des Dickens'schen Romans zu einem Ganzen geschlossen, ein Charakterbild aus jener Menge herausgenommen, eine Stimmung aus jener Mannigfaltigkeit von Stimmungen, eine Reflexion aus jenem Reichtum; sie ist der Geist jenes Romans in Form der Anekdote.[46]

The main characters of *Die Heiterethei*, 1854, were little affected by Dickens, but there are minor characters drawn in his best style: The "Morzenschmiedin," who is compared with a "Schwarzwälder Uhr," and whose movements are described in terms of clock works; the watchmaker Zerrer, who has learned to talk from his clocks, "aus seinem Knarren und Schnarren ist kaum klug zu werden;" and the "Valtinessin" with her stereotyped phrases and gestures. In *Aus dem Regen in die Traufe*,

[43] *Ibid.*, VI 159.
[44] *Ibid.*, VI 71, 80.
[45] *Ibid.*, VI 145. Cf. VI 168.
[46] *Ibid.*, VI 78.

the dependence on Dickens in theme, conception, and style is all too obvious. Nearly every person in the narrative is afflicted with some bodily defect or blemish. In his later years Ludwig spoke only unwillingly of this work.

The serious *Zwischen Himmel und Erde* is neither pervaded with the atmosphere of Dickens nor relieved by any humorous minor characters, but the detailed way in which Ludwig enters into the technicalities of slate roof repairing and analyzes Nettenmair's guilty thoughts remind one of the art of Dickens.[47]

Freytag and Ludwig offer points of likeness and contrast in their relation to Dickens. Both were interested in the technique of Dickens, Freytag rather more in the large general structure of the novel, Ludwig in the minute but important details of psychology. Neither of them was a poet by the grace of God, and both consciously searched in literature for models in respect to character as well as form of presentation. To Freytag the merry side of Dickens appealed—"die Lust am Leben," "die Fülle des Gemüts"—while Ludwig was more concerned with the hidden side of the human soul.

Another pair of authors who offer certain points of likeness and contrast are Fritz Reuter and Wilhelm Raabe. Reuter was dubbed "der deutsche Boz" as early as 1865 and with much appropriateness. He drew his characters from literary models as well as from life, and since he was, like Dickens, a hater of sham and hypocrisy, an advocate of the downtrodden, and a sympathizer with the poor, and since in his nature tenderness and rude humor were blended, he was especially susceptible to the influence of Dickens. When Reuter was in prison he read the works of Dickens and learned parts of them almost by heart. His biographer, Warncke, says of Reuter:

> Un wo girn hürten de Ollen un de Jungen em tau, wenn hei von sine lange Festungstid vertellte, wenn hei an de Winterabende 'ne richtige Kemedi upführen ded in de ein Stuw, wo von wegen de Küll en Vorhang anbröcht wir, oder wenn hei ut de Englänner Charles Dickens un Walter Scott ehre Bäuker vörlesen ded. Dat kunn hei binah ahn Bauk, blot ut'n Kopp, indem dat hei de Geschichten up de Festung lest hadd und so'n behöllern Kopp hadd, dat hei sei man ümmer so herseggen künn.[48]

Critics have attempted in vain to identify one or another of Reuter's associates with Bräsig in *Ut mine Stromtid*, despite the fact that Reuter himself said that only Slus'uhr, Pomuchelskopp, and Moses were drawn from life. The truth is that Mr. Pickwick was the chief model for Bräsig. Reuter first conceived of him about the time that he read *The Pickwick*

[47] Lohre [1431].
[48] Paul Warneke, *F. Reuter: Woans hei lewt und schrewen hatt*², Stuttgart, 1900, 275.

Papers. A character similar to Mr. Pickwick appeared thereafter from time to time in certain of his minor works until finally in 1863 a full-length portrait emerged, attended by near facsimiles of Simon Tappertit, Dolly Varden, Joe Willet, and Miss Miggs out of *Barnaby Rudge.*[49]

As his career progressed Reuter employed his local dialect more and more and finally used it exclusively both in conversation and narration. In the transitional stage he told his stories in high German and let his characters speak "platt." When Klaus Groth took him to task for this mixed form, Reuter claimed the sanction of Scott, Dickens, Lessing, Goethe, and Schiller. The reference to Dickens was particularly appropriate because the mixture of the standard language with dialect in *The Pickwick Papers* corresponds almost exactly to Reuter's practice in the works in dispute.

Both Dickens and Reuter wrote a single social tract: *Hard Times,* 1854, and *Kein Hüsung,* 1857. Though *Kein Hüsung* is written in verse the two are similar and there are parallels of situation and characters.[50] In *Woans ick tau 'ne Fru kamm,* 1860, the leading character goes to sleep and wakes up a reformed and re-created individual as in *The Chimes* and *A Christmas Carol;* otherwise Reuter's plots and situations show few reminiscences of Dickens, but Reuter followed Dickens in his manner of introducing characters. Both present a complete view of their characters on the first entrance, thus forestalling all further development. On reappearance they can only repeat themselves. Both authors endow their figures with characterizing, often whimsical, names. One source of humor with both is a distortion of foreign words in the mouths of the half-educated, another is the intrusion of the author's personality,[51] but this last, of course, is part of Dickens's heritage from Sterne, which may have descended also to Reuter through the romanticists.

Wilhelm Raabe shares with Dickens and Reuter a fondness for the weak, poor, and unprotected. There are obvious reminiscences of *A Christmas Carol, Martin Chuzzlewit, Nicholas Nickelby, Oliver Twist, The Old Curiosity Shop, David Copperfield,* and *Bleak House* in Raabe's work. Though neither Dickens nor Raabe indulged in Marxian polemics, both were aware of the chasm between the exploiters and the exploited, and both could picture the helplessness of the latter better than the moral degeneration of the former. In depicting character Dickens is often satiric, Raabe generally humorous. Dickens often produces caricatures, Raabe is realistic.[52] There are other differences as well. Raabe's main

[49] Geist [1436] 25 f. Cf. Meyer [1435] 131.
[50] Geist [1435] 33.
[51] *Ibid.,* 13 f., 17, 22 f.
[52] Lukács [1434] 100–103.

characters undergo developments. His quaint, quiet, and minor characters have more depth, they do not consist of a single mannerism, and do not move in a marionette fashion. Raabe also draws his character types from a wider range of life than Dickens.[53]

When still a young boy Raabe learned English in Magdeburg in order to read *Pendennis* in the original,[54] and Thackeray stood presently higher in his esteem than the former favorites, Balzac, Scott, Dickens, and Sue. *Pendennis*, the most indulgently ironical of Thackeray's novels, remained Raabe's favorite, and although he appears at times to approach Thackeray's manner, his greater tolerance is always evident. Instructive in this respect is a comparison of Thackeray's *Our Street*, 1848, and Raabe's *Die Chronik der Sperlingsgasse*, 1857.[55] The specific traces of *Pendennis* are most noticeable in *Die Kinder von Finkenrode*, 1857. Here we find characters in Raabe's work comparable to those in Thackeray's and the general plan of the two works is similar. On the whole it can be said that Raabe was able to appreciate Thackeray's art and learn from it without becoming cynical thereby. The continued influence of Sterne's humane indulgence served as a counterbalance.

While Raabe still lived and wrote, it was customary to mention Jean Paul as his master. Fritz Hartmann, Raabe's Eckermann, reports that Raabe declared he did not read Jean Paul until he had formed his own style and character, and even then he read him "nur, um das Gerede von seiner Jeanpaulheit selbst einmal auf seine Berechtigung zu prüfen."[56] Raabe's admiration for Sterne, on the other hand, was admitted from first to last. Sterne and Raabe are both prone to vex their readers and at the same time to woo them by long personal confidences. Raabe was well read in English literature and well informed in regard to its vogue in Germany. Speaking once of the influence of Sterne he is reported to have said:

> Der war ungeheuer, wie überhaupt die englischen Schriftsteller des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts viel stärker auf die deutsche als auf die eigene Literatur gewirkt haben. Denken Sie nur an Ossian, der in England nicht viel beachtet wurde, für unsere Stürmer und Dränger aber ein Evangelium war. Und mit Sterne und Goldsmith war es nicht anders. Ohne beide wäre Goethes *Werther* nicht geschrieben worden.[57]

Raabe had much the same conception of Sterne's "Eigenheiten" as Goethe.[58] In *Die Chronik der Sperlingsgasse* and *Die Kinder von Finkenrode* there are many "Sonderlinge." Of these Hauptmann Fasterling is

[53] Doernenburg und Fehse [1433].
[54] Krüger [1540] 66–72.
[55] Gummer [1424] 96.
[56] F. Hartmann, *Wilhelm Raabe* . . ., Hannover, 1910, 14 f.
[57] F. Hartmann, "Gespräche mit Raabe," in *Raabe-Gedenkbuch*, Berlin, 1921, 123.
[58] See p. 205, above.

the most direct descendant of Uncle Toby. Raabe never endeavors to conceal the source of his suggestions. He tells the reader that Kuenemund in *Meister Autor*, 1871, because of his misplaced laughter and grimaces, is a misfit in society just as Yorick was in the previous century, even though Kuenemund knew nothing of Sterne. Freiherr Veit von Bielow in *Unruhige Gäste*, 1886, in his flight from death, compares himself directly with Tristram Shandy, and there are additional parallels, several of them as definitely labeled as these.[59]

Friedrich Spielhagen was another admirer of the English novel. Dickens and Goldsmith were his first English favorites. He called Dickens, Goethe, and Goldsmith "die Epiker von Gottes Gnade."[60] In his lectures he often made comparisons between the "humorous" Dickens and the "satirical" Thackeray. The novel most frequently mentioned was *David Copperfield*, which confirmed his theory of the "Ich-Roman" or perhaps even gave rise to it:[61]

> Mit *David Copperfield* habe ich den besten Ich-Roman genannt, den ich kenne; der mir als ein möglichst vollkommenes Beispiel der Species bei diesen theoretischen Erörterungen immer vorgeschwebt hat, und zu dessen Zustandekommen wahrlich die günstigsten Sterne kulminieren mußten.[62]

When *Hammer und Ambos* appeared, Julian Schmidt noted the parallel between it and *David Copperfield*,[63] and the Hart brothers also noted it in their *Kritische Waffengänge*.[64] Georg Hartwig's first, second, and third loves correspond in details of character and fate to David Copperfield's Emily, Dora, and Agnes. There is also a storm scene in *Hammer und Ambos*,[65] but a storm scene which forms a closer parallel to the one at Yarmouth is to be found in the twentieth chapter of *Noblesse Oblige*. Mrs. Leo Hunter of the *Pickwick Papers* (chapter xv) may well be the prototype of Primula in *Problematische Naturen*.[66] Spielhagen would be unconcerned over these discoveries for in his opinion a novelist should be a "Finder" as well as an "Erfinder."

The influence of Dickens continued to the end of the century. At a certain stage of his development Gustav Frenssen consciously and deliberately turned away from former models and toward Dickens. In his

[59] Doernenberg [1533] 157–170; Meyer [579] 175–221.
[60] Spielhagen, *Beiträge zur Theorie und Technik des Romans*, Leipzig, 1883, 226; *Finder und Erfinder*, 1890, I 377, II 395.
[61] See Gummer [1424] 114–117.
[62] Spielhagen, *Beiträge . . .*, 226 f.
[63] J. Schmidt, *Neue Bilder aus dem geistigen Leben unserer Zeit*, Leipzig, 1873, 223.
[64] *Op. cit.*, Leipzig, 1884, 54 f.
[65] Skinner [1437] 504 f.
[66] M. Geller, *Spielhagens Theorie und Praxis des Romans*. Bonner Forschungen, Neue Folge IX (1917) 123.

diary he recorded an early attachment to Storm, Keller, and Raabe, whose works were "zu zart . . . oder . . . . zu gelehrt oder zu vornehm" for the mass of the people, and he wrote of himself:

Dem großen, einfachen Volk aber wollte ich dienen . . . Eher schon hätte mir Dickens ein brauchbarer Wegweiser und Lehrer sein können; und ich habe später auch von ihm gelernt. Ich kannte ihn ein wenig; aber ich sah noch nicht, wo von ihm ein Weg . . . in deutsche Verhältnisse hinüberginge[67] . . . In meinem ersten Buch habe ich Gartenlaubengeschichten nachgeahmt, danach haben Goethe, Keller und Raabe Einfluß auf meine Arbeiten gehabt, später Dickens. Es wäre vielleicht richtiger gewesen, wenn ich von Anfang an mein Feuer an Dickens entzündet hätte, denn er hat die Gabe und den Willen, den ich auch habe—der die Quintessenz meines ganzen Schriftstellertums ist—das ganze Volk zu einem Stand vereint zu sehen. Ich war aber zu lange unklar in dieser Erkenntnis; ich wußte nicht, was es mit meinem Talent auf sich hatte.[68]

This recognition occurred about at the turn of the century and one of its first fruits was *Jörn Uhl*, 1901. A French critic immediately compared it at length with *David Copperfield*,[69] to which an American critic compared Frenssen's more recent semiautobiographical *Otto Babendieck*, 1926.[70] In both instances the resemblance lies in the similarity of plan, a rather close parallelism of characters, and a slight similarity of mannerisms. When Frenssen spoke of Dickens, he thought first and last of *David Copperfield*. Even the *Pickwick Papers* is mentioned but once in his works.[71]

On the subject of Thackeray, party lines re-formed in Germany. Julian Schmidt classed him with Bulwer-Lytton, Charlotte Brontë, Carlyle, Charles Kingsley, and George Eliot, as the "Young English" prose writers, thus parallelling the group with the Young Germans. Schmidt justified Bulwer-Lytton to a certain extent as the worthiest representative of a misguided age.

Er gibt uns das Bild einer skeptischen Periode, welche die drei Kulturvölker gleichzeitig durchgemacht haben, einer Periode, die wir bald überwunden haben werden, die sich aber aus unseren Bildungsgang nicht wegwischen läßt, und der daher in der Literatur eine Vertretung gebührt.[72]

Schmidt viewed the appearance of Thackeray on the scene with less resignation. Thackeray, he said, was skeptical of a clear distinction between right and wrong. This skepticism was the origin of his mixed

[67] Frenssen, *Möven und Mäuse*, Berlin, 1928, 246.
[68] *Ibid.*, 33 f.; cf. Gummer [1424] 125–127.
[69] De Wysewa [1584].
[70] Church [1585].
[71] Gummer [1424] 129.
[72] *Die Grenzboten*, 1859, I 211.

characters. These he had in common with Gutzkow among others, but Thackeray's characters were more convincing:

> Sie sind nicht bloß Mosaikarbeiten aus einzelnen Anschauungen, sondern sie haben ein inneres, wirkliches Leben, sie bewegen sich nach ihren eigenen Gesetzen . . . Der gebildete Leser hat für jeden seiner Charaktere, für jede seiner Situationen den Schlüssel in der Hand. Er kann . . . die Richtigkeit der dichterischen Schöpfung prüfen.[73]

Of Gutzkow's characters, on the other hand, Schmidt said: "Man hat in jedem Augenblick die Empfindung, daß sie ebenso gut das Gegenteil tun könnten, von dem was sie wirklich tun . . . Sie tragen kein Gesetz der inneren Notwendigkeit in sich."[74]

Although he recognized Thackeray's masterly technique and realistic power, Schmidt expressly wished that Thackeray's novels had never become known in Germany, "denn mit ihrer trüben weichmütigen, halb-pessimistische, halb-ergebenen Stimmung greifen sie der schlimmsten Neigung unserer Zeit unter die Arme."[75]

For once Gutzkow and Julian Schmidt voted alike in regard to an author, though to be sure for different reasons. Of Thackeray Gutzkow said: "Ich gestehe, daß ich den Roman *Pendennis* zu lesen anfing und vor Breite und Wiederholung nicht über den ersten Band hinauskommen konnte."[76] At another time Gutzkow said: "Ob bei meinen *Rittern vom Geist* die Lesegeduld noch Stand hält, hängt von der Bildung des Lesers ab."[77] Gutzkow does not strike the modern reader as a competent judge of the comparative tediousness of novels. The curt dismissal of *Pendennis* at any rate seems to forestall any study of the influence of Thackeray on Gutzkow.

Of all the young English novelists Charlotte Brontë and George Eliot found the highest favor with Julian Schmidt. Of "Currer Bell's" heroes he said: "Sie gehen nicht in Tapferkeit, Liebe und Mondschein auf," and of her heroines:

> Sie wollen in der Welt eine nützliche Stellung ausfüllen, wo möglich wollen sie lieben und geliebt werden, wenn das ihnen vom Schicksale versagt wird, so springen sie nicht ins Wasser, gehen nicht ins Kloster, werden nicht verrückt, sondern sie suchen eine Beschäftigung, die ihr Leben wenigstens teilweise auszufüllen imstande ist . . . In dieser Beziehung stechen Currer Bells Figuren nicht nur von den jungen Edelleuten unserer Hahn, sondern von den Weltschmerzphilosophen George Sands sehr vorteilhaft ab.

[73] *Ibid.*, 1853, I 44.
[74] *Ibid.*, 1861, IV 248.
[75] *Ibid.*, 1854, III 274.
[76] Gutzkow, *Gesammelte Werke*[2], Jena, 1872–1875, XI 340.
[77] Gutzkow, *Ritter vom Geiste*, Berlin, 1878, xv, preface to the sixth edition.

Moreover, he said, the women who write English novels are still primarily interested in domestic affairs. It is true they have "eine gewisse Tendenz auf Emanzipation, aber in einem andern Sinne als die sentimentalen Titaniden von Jean Pauls Seraphen herüber zu den Faustinen und Leilias."[78]

Schmidt regarded George Eliot's *Adam Bede* as one of the foremost novels of its decade and superior even to the recent work of Dickens and Thackeray because of its realistic technique, its economy of action, and its "künstlerischen Idealismus," which last phrase included the conception of "moral ideal" as well. Schmidt compared the novel with Ludwig's *Zwischen Himmel und Erde* and had to consult the dates of origin in order to convince himself that the one was not suggested by the other.[79] Characteristically he preferred *Adam Bede* to Ludwig's novel because it was less dismal in tone and therefore a work of higher artistic idealism.

Gutzkow attributed the success of George Eliot exclusively to her "realistische minutiöse Auffassung und Schilderung von Menschen, Dingen und Verhältnissen." She was not fortunate, he said, in her choice of characters. "Es wird dem Leser . . . vor all den Handwerkern . . . Pächtern, Schulmeistern, Landgeistlichen, Gutsbesitzern, Müttern, Basen, zuletzt ganz flau zu Mute. Im Dorfe leben wir, im Dorfe sterben wir, laßt euch endlich auch im Dorfe begraben."[80]

Several journals, including some of Young German tendencies, were rather inclined to agree with Schmidt. Prutz's *Deutsches Museum* and Kühne's *Europa* both contain articles commendatory of Thackeray and George Eliot.[81] A correspondent to the *Magazin für die Literatur des Auslandes* concurred in Schmidt's opinion in regard to Charlotte Brontë.[82] He took exception to the assertion of a French critic that Currer Bell was the English George Sand. Thereby, he said, the critic simply showed that the French have no appreciation of the English novel. "In *Jane Eyre* and *Shirley* ist keine Spur von Georg Sand'scher Anfeindungen der Ehe oder Kämpfen gegen die bestehenden Formen der Gesellschaft." This article incidentally emphasizes the popularity of the English novels in Germany. It asserts: "Unsere Leihbibliotheken enthalten gewiß mehr englische als deutsche Romane."[83] Comments such as these lead one to suppose that the influence of the English women novelists may have been considerable, and doubtless A. Ludwig is correct in asserting that they paved the way

[78] *Die Grenzboten*, 1850, II 488.
[79] *Ibid.*, 1860, II 288.
[80] *Unterhaltungen am häuslichen Herd*, 1860, 863.
[81] *Deutsches Museum*, 1851, 89–104, 807–813; *Europa*, 1860, 498.
[82] *Loc. cit.*, 1850, 80.
[83] *Ibid.*, 1850, 5 ff.

for the "Gartenlaube-Roman."[84] An effect of the novels on German authors of highest importance has never been pointed out.

On the other hand German authors have profited from the study of Thackeray's technique. Theodor Fontane, for example, tarried in England in 1852 and 1855 at just the right time to see Victorian snobbishness through Thackeray's eyes. In *Ein Sommer in London*, 1854, there is a suggestive reference to *Vanity Fair* which seems to support this connection. Fontane was above all tolerant, or at least intolerant only of intolerance. Thus he could not be an unqualified follower of Thackeray. Fontane gives the impression of being a regretful conservative. He seems to indicate that one must adhere to the inherited code, even though one knows it has outlived its value, but he saw very clearly through man's moral compromises and agreed with Thackeray in his hatred of sham. A comparison of *Pendennis* with *Frau Jenny Treibel*, 1892, gives a clear indication of what the two authors have in common, for here they treat of similar characters in similar situations.[85]

[84] ASNS, CLXIV (1933) 95.
[85] Shears [1539].

Chapter XXV

THE AMERICAN FRONTIER NOVEL

The chief interest of Germany in American literature during the nineteenth century was the American frontier novel. No important American drama existed, and of the American poets only Longfellow and Poe came to be well known. Both were translated into German *in toto*.[1] Elise von Hohenhausen with her version of *The Golden Legend* was the first to do honor to Longfellow. Freiligrath was her most distinguished successor. The popularity of Poe is readily explicable. Readers fond of the mysterious and macabre could find it in him as well as in Hoffmann. Poe was translated and admired but had no direct literary followers in Germany. In the anthologies made up exclusively of American poetry, Whittier, Lowell, Holmes, Joaquin Miller, Bret Harte, Aldrich, and Stoddard, are fairly well represented.[2] Walt Whitman, on the other hand, did not come to be a vital force in German literature and life until the twentieth century.

The outbreak of the War of Independence found its echo nearly everywhere in the journals of the time and here and there in works of literature. Many of the leading journalists in question were politically liberal, but had too long been accustomed to look upon Britain as the land of political freedom to welcome the disintegration of its empire. Adhesion to the one cause or the other was often determined by geographical location or by social rank. Well-established writers inclined toward a Tory position, but even of the others many were neutral. Schlözer, a professor at the University of Göttingen, was an ardent and effectual supporter of the English cause, but three Swabian journalists, Schubart, Wekherlin, and Schiller were also enamored of English institutions.[3] Of the American leaders two only appealed strongly to the imagination of the German men of letters. In *Dichtung und Wahrheit* one reads: "Man wünschte den Amerikanern alles Glück und die Namen Franklin und Washington fingen an am politischen und kriegerischen Himmel zu glänzen und zu funkeln."[4] Klopstock was proud to call himself a fellow citizen of Washington,[5] and Herder compared Franklin with Socrates.[6]

[1] Longfellow by Simon, Leipzig, 1883; Poe by Etzel, Leipzig, 1909.
[2] Cf. Bibliography [1160], [1164].
[3] Walz [208] and King [209].
[4] Goethe, *Werke*, I (29) 68.
[5] Klopstock, *Werke*, Leipzig, 1856, X 341. Cf. the odes "Sie und nicht wir," 1790, and "Zwei Nordamerikaner," 1795. Klopstock, *Oden*, ed. Muncker and Pawel, Stuttgart, 1889, II 72, 106.
[6] Herder, *Werke*, XVII 295.

The traffic in German mercenaries stirred the passions of the German citizens most deeply. Herder wrote of these victims:

> Und doch sind sie in ihrer Herren Dienst
> So hündisch-treu! Sie lassen willig sich
> Zum Mississippi und Ohio-Strom
> Nach Candia und nach dem Mohrenfels
> Verkaufen. Stirbt der Sklave, streicht der Herr
> Den Sold indeß und seine Witwe darbt;
> Die Waisen ziehen den Pflug und hungern. Doch
> Das schadet nichts; der Herr braucht eine Schatz.[7]

Hermes made unfavorable mention of the sale of mercenaries in his novel *Sophiens Reise*, 1769–1773. In his journal of the time Schiller refers with perhaps a touch of irony, to the mercenaries, on their way to America, halting a moment to salute "ihren angebeteten Landesvater und Regenten,"[8] and in *Kabale und Liebe*, II, 3, he harks back to the same theme. As late as 1787 Schubart voiced opposition to the practice in his "Kaplied," which, according to Mathisson, was sung from the Limmat in Switzerland to the Baltic sea, from Moldau in Bohemia to the banks of the Rhine.[9]

Meanwhile America was used as a stage setting by Klinger in his *Sturm und Drang*, 1776, and Franklin plays an important part in his novel *Geschichte eines Deutschen der neuesten Zeit*, 1778. One of the most widely read works at the time was Crèvecoeur's *Letters from an American Farmer*, 1782. A French, a Dutch, and a German translation came out in 1784. A second volume by Crèvecoeur appeared in Germany in 1788 under the title *Reise in Ober-Pennsylvanien und im Staate New York von einem adoptierten Mitgliede der Oneide Nation*. Quite possibly Sophie La Roche did not read these works but her errant son was in America and tarried for a time on the shores of Lake Oneida in 1794. His wife Elzy wrote interesting letters concerning a French refugee family which lived on an island in the lake. This formed the background and provided the characters for one of the last of Sophie La Roche's novels, *Erscheinungen am See Oneida*, 1798. The author had at last seen the error of too close an attachment to the manner of Richardson. The mood of this novel was rather that of Bernardin de Saint-Pierre.[10]

Any account of the American novel abroad naturally begins with Cooper, who attained popularity quickly and held it long. Cooper did not invent his formula but wrote under the spell of Chateaubriand's *Atala* and *René* and its school, with its romantic conception of the un-

[7] *Ibid.*, XVIII 211.
[8] Cf. Goebel [22] and Walz [208].
[9] Mattison, *Erinnerungen*, Wien, 1794, I 181.
[10] Lange [1198].

spoiled savage and the beauty of life close to nature's heart, but it remained for Cooper to bring the new type of literature into general vogue in Germany. His novels began to appear in the 1820's. *The Pioneer*, *The Spy*, and *The Pilot* were translated in 1824 and the others shortly afterwards. Though Cooper's conception of the American Indian was not new, he was able to supply detail that was regarded as realistic; thus he was able to draw the full value from the conflict of types, which was to become the chief stock in trade of the pioneer novel. Not only did Cooper's German successors, Gerstäcker, Möllhausen, Strubberg, Sealsfield and others, follow him in his characteristic confrontation of red man with white man, but they sometimes copied their pictures directly from him even when they had the opportunity to draw from life.

In 1848 a journalist in Berlin, Otto Ruppius by name, was condemned to imprisonment on account of an article published in his paper. He fled to America, gained a small fortune as a musician, lost it in a fire in 1853, and then began a successful literary career, the best-known products of which are *Der Pedlar*, 1857, and *Das Vermächtnis des Pedlars*, 1859. When an amnesty was declared in Prussia, he returned in 1861 to his fatherland. From this time on until his death in 1864 he produced novels of American life in rapid succession. He professed little knowledge of the Indian or of frontier life, but he had studied well and almost too sympathetically the German settler, who invariably appears as a paragon of virtue and industry and stands in marked contrast to the dishonest Yankee, who always takes advantage of him. His works did much to perpetuate the pattern for German novels about America.

Despite their phenomenal productivity (Strubberg published over 50 volumes, Gerstäcker and Möllhausen each over 150) all three were primarily men of affairs. Gerstäcker was a jack of many trades, Strubberg a frontiersman and colonizing agent, and Möllhausen a scientist,[11] and fiction writing was an occupation of their few idle years. Gerstäcker had the least contact with frontier life. Strubberg's theme was the life of colonists, especially German colonists in the territory of Texas. The tales of Möllhausen, the explorer, cover a wider field.

Karl Postl [Charles Sealsfield] was an Austrian monk, who, tiring of his monastic bonds, fled to Switzerland, wrote there a book exposing Metternich, and was compelled to flee, 1822. The next eight years he spent in America, and revisited it in 1837, 1850, and 1853–1858. As early as 1837 Sealsfield was extolling American institutions and as late as 1862, after long residence in Germany, he was referring to America as his

[11] Barba [1114] and [1117]; Prahl [1183].

country, and he prescribed to be written on his tombstone "Charles Sealsfield, Bürger von Nordamerika."

Sealsfield claimed to be as realistic as the recently invented photography. He asserted that he had visited Louisiana three times and Mexico once. His first-hand knowledge of America has often been doubted for his Negroes are caricatures, his Indians idealizations, and his pictures of American life and character too roseate to be plausible. But despite recent challenges, it would appear that his observations in Louisiana were often accurate.[12] For his plots, and quite particularly for his local color, he drew upon Cooper, Irving, and certain less-known Americans of the time who have only been partially identified.[13]

A particular interest attaches to Sealsfield's language. Not only in reporting conversation but in narrative and description his sentences are full of American words and American constructions. Sealsfield adopted his style deliberately. He maintained that primitive German had allowed itself to be corrupted first with Latin, then with French forms, while English, however much infused with words of French origin, remained fundamentally Anglo-Saxon-Danish-Germanic. His own German, he said, was more Germanic than "latinisiertes gelehrtes deutsch."[14] Sealsfield's language reform has frequently been examined and with varying severity condemned[15] but need not concern us here, since no later German novelist has adopted his manner.

Early in the century the waves of emigration to America set in. Hunger drove 20,000 hither as early as 1817. Between 1820 and 1830 15,000 followed. Ten years later the number of refugees had reached 150,000, chiefly as a result of the unsuccessful revolution of 1832. To mention all conspicuous novels which made use of an American background never seen by their authors would carry us too far. It would involve such names as Zschokke, Alexis, Immermann, Spindler, Otto Ludwig, Gutzkow, Spielhagen, Auerbach, Freytag, and Stifter. Hopeful works such as Goethe suggested were by no means in the majority. German novels about America had their origins in two opposing camps, and fall into four groups. In the one camp were the political idealists who saw in the American constitution a ready-made political Utopia and either found or did not find the Utopia realized, but chiefly did not. Then there were the romanticists, who hoped to find in America an untouched Rousseauistic paradise and either found it there or failed, but chiefly failed.[16]

The Young Germans, for the most part, belonged to the group of dis-

[12] See Willey, Arndt, and Krumpelmann in Bibliography [1219]–[1225].
[13] See Bibliography [1213]–[1225].
[14] K. M. Kertbeny, *Erinnerungen an Charles Sealsfield*, Brussels and Leipzig, 1864, 77 f.
[15] See Bibliography [1226]–[1230]. [16] Meyer [1197].

illusioned, often satirical romanticists. In Fanny Lewald's *Diogena*, 1847, the author lets her romantic and supercultivated rival, the Gräfin Hahn-Hahn wax enthusiastic about the noble Indian, lets her read about him in novels, study his language, journey to his haunts, and throw herself at the feet of a noble red man, only to experience a rebuff and a change of heart.[17]

The classic example of disillusionment is Nikolaus Lenau, who came to America in 1832 to see a primitive civilization and to refresh his poetic spirit. "Ich will meine Phantasie in die Schule, in die nordamerikanischen Urwälder schicken, den Niagara will ich rauschen hören und Niagaralieder singen."[18] After a few short months he found himself disappointed in everything. The nightingale that failed to sing in October in Baltimore was a symbol to him of the dreariness of American life. The Americans were "himmelanstinkende Krämerseelen," and there was no poetry in them.

In the years 1848–1855 Ferdinand Kürnberger, a fugitive Viennese republican, wrote a novel called *Der Amerikamüde*. Its title would seem to indicate that it was a reply to Ernst Willkomm's novel of 1838, *Die Europamüden*,[19] but more than that it was an epitome, as far as a single novel could be, of the German literature on America of the preceding fifty years. Kürnberger's picture of America and the Americans was somber. It was long supposed that the experiences of Lenau formed the basis of the account, but it is now clear that, though the author started with this idea, he abandoned it on finding that the biographical facts did not suit his purpose. In order to be "topical," however, he did make use of Lenau's character and views.[20] Kürnberger himself, like many another German authority of his time and since, never visited America. In his novel the idealism of the German is constantly contrasted with the ruthlessness and hypocrisy of the American settler, and this method became the favored routine in the later German transatlantic novels.

Goethe belonged to neither of these pessimistic groups. In his earlier days his connections with America were remote. After relating the painful story of his broken relations with Lili Schoenemann he reported:

> Wohlwollende haben mir vertraut, Lili habe geäußert, indem alle Hindernisse unserer Verbindung ihr vorgetragen worden: sie unternehme wohl, aus Neigung zu mir, alle dermaligen Zustände und Verhältnisse aufzugeben und mit nach Amerika zu gehen.

Goethe added: "Amerika war damals vielleicht noch mehr als jetzt das

[17] Barba [1408].
[18] Schurz, *Lenaus Leben*, Stuttgart, 1855, I 158; cf. Bibliography [1191]–[1204].
[19] See p. 367, below.
[20] Meyer [1197].

Eldorado derjenigen, die in ihrer augenblicklichen Lage sich bedrängt fanden."[21]

There may have been times in later life when Goethe regretted his hesitation. To Sulpiz Boiserée he once said: "Was möchte daraus geworden sein, wenn ich mit wenigen Freunden vor dreißig Jahren nach America gegangen wäre."[22] To Kanzler von Müller he said in 1819: "Wären wir zwanzig Jahre jünger, so segelten wir noch nach Amerika,"[23] and to Eckermann, 1824: "Ich danke dem Himmel, daß ich jetzt, in dieser durchaus gemachten Zeit, nicht jung bin. Ich würde nicht zu bleiben wissen. Ja selbst wenn ich nach America flüchten wollte, ich käme zu spät."[24]

In *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* Lothario returns from America impoverished and resolved to set his estate in order declaring: "Hier oder nirgends ist Amerika," but again toward the close of the *Wanderjahre* Lothario joins a group of emigrants who seek their fortune in America.

It cannot be said that Goethe showed any especial interest in the American continent before 1805 when he began to read the works of Alexander von Humboldt, and even then his interest was chiefly in the physical and natural characteristics of the North and South American continent. When Aaron Burr came to Weimar apparently to further some plan for the exploitation of Mexican resources, Goethe was well enough informed to show a certain lack of interest. From 1810 to 1815 Goethe drew from the Weimar library a large number of books relating to the western hemisphere. The autobiography of Benjamin Franklin interested him especially.

Shortly after this time Americans began to visit Goethe. The first of these were from New England: In 1816 Everett and Ticknor, in 1817 Lyman and Cogswell, in 1819 Bancroft and again Cogswell, in 1824 William Emerson, the brother of Ralph Waldo, in 1826 Dwight of Yale University. Maryland was scantily but well represented by Calvert. Goethe's conversations and his later correspondence with these men have been rather fully recorded.[25] Cogswell reported that Goethe showed himself fully informed in regard to conditions of life in America. In 1825 Prinz Bernhard, the son of Karl August, made an extensive trip to America and wrote a 600-page record of his experiences and impressions. This was the fullest account of America which Goethe had yet seen. Further sources of information for Goethe were a series of reports which Hüttner made to Karl August and the French journal *Le Globe*. At just about the same time, 1826, both these sources called attention to the

[21] Goethe, *Werke*, I (29) 156.
[22] *Goethes Gespräche*,[2] ed. Biedermann, Leipzig, 1911, II 389.
[23] *Ibid.*, II 377.
[24] Eckermann, *Gespräche*, 95. [25] See Bibliography [1186]–[1193].

novels of Cooper, commending them as accurate pictures of American frontier life and American Indians. The *Globe*[26] commended Cooper as one who drew from the American picture, in contrast to Washington Irving, who wrote as an Englishman might write. With this view Goethe came to agree.

From this time on Goethe read and studied Cooper's novels. By the end of the year he had read all the novels that Cooper had yet written, *The Pioneers*, *The Last of the Mohicans*, *The Spy*, and *The Pilot*.[27] When *The Prairie* appeared the next year, he read it promptly and similarly *The Red Rover* in 1828.[28] It has been suggested that *The Pioneers* in particular affected the grouping of characters, the landscape painting, and the language of some of the persons in the *Novelle* which he wrote almost immediately after reading Cooper's novel.[29] Goethe also proposed to young novelists a plan for an American novel:

> Die Hauptfigur, der protestantische Geistliche, der, selbst auswanderungslustig, die Auswandernden ans Meer und dann hinüberführt und oft an Moses in den Wüsten erinnern würde, müßte eine Art von Dr. Primrose sein, der mit so viel Verstand als gutem Willen, mit so viel Bildung als Thätigkeit bei allem, was er unternimmt und fördert, doch immer nicht weiß, was er thut, von seiner "ruling passion" fortgetrieben, dasjenige, was er sich vorsetzte, durchzuführen genötigt wird und erst am Ende zu Atem kommt, wenn zum gränzenlosen Unverstand und unübersehbarem Unheil sich zuletzt noch ein ganz leidliches Dasein hervorthut.[30]

Ernst Willkomm's *Die Europamüden*, 1838, is a work which follows closely this formula.

Goethe conceived America to be a calm and peaceful land, undisturbed by social or volcanic turbulence and was moved to write in 1827:

> Amerika, du hast es besser
> Als unser Continent, das alte,
> Hast keine verfallene Schlösser
> Und keine Basalte.
> Dich stört nicht im Innern
> Zu lebendiger Zeit
> Unnützes Erinnern
> Und vergeblicher Streit.
>
> Benutzt die Gegenwart mit Glück!
> Und wenn nun eure Kinder dichten,
> Bewahre sie ein gut Geschick
> Vor Ritter- Räuber- und Gespenstergeschichten.[31]

[26] March 12 and 15, 1825; May 15 and 25, 1826; March 3, 1827.
[27] Goethe, *Werke*, III (10) 251 f.
[28] *Ibid.*, III (11) 168–172.
[29] Wukadinoviç [1411].
[30] Goethe, *Werke*, I (41:2) 296 f.
[31] *Ibid.*, I (5:1) 137.

Goethe also had a clear vision of the future development of the American state. He foresaw, 1827, the crossing of the continent, the establishment of cities on the Pacific coast, and the future decision to cut a canal at Panama.[32]

For the greater part of the century Germans continued to derive their picture of American life chiefly from the novels of Cooper and the German wanderers, but, in 1873, Grunow in Leipzig published a translation of Bret Harte's *Tales of the Argonauts* (*Die Argonauten-Geschichten*). In 1874 a collection of sketches by Mark Twain appeared under the title *Jim Smileys berühmter Sprungfrosch und dergleichen wunderliche Käuze mehr; Im Silberlande Nevada.* In 1875 was published a translation of the two volumes of *The Innocents Abroad*, in 1876 of *The Gilded Age* and *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*, and, in 1877, of *Sketches New and Old.* Meanwhile *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* had been reprinted, 1876, in the well-known Tauchnitz series.

The early translations were by the competent Moritz Busch, who had previously prepared German versions of works of Dickens and Thackeray and who had visited America in 1851. Soon after this, further translations appeared by Udo Brachvogel, Margaret Jacobi, Henny Koch, and others, and within ten years the chief earlier works of Mark Twain were almost all accessible to the German public in the original form or in translation.

Statistics of publication, republication, and sale testify to his immediate popularity. The critics were of various opinions. A. E. Schönbach placed Bret Harte in a higher category than Mark Twain. The latter was an admirable journalist but Bret Harte's work was poetic.[33] In general, *The Innocents Abroad* was less favorably received than the other works. Mark Twain's persiflage of the monuments of German culture was often taken amiss, and only the minority of the critics sensed the fact that the author was bantering American provincialism at the same time. *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* was regarded as fiction for boys and compared with Arnold's *Tom Brown's Schooldays* and Thomas Aldrich's *Story of a Bad Boy*, sometimes to its disadvantage. *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* was less readily appreciated than its companion piece. It will readily be seen that it is impossible to render Mark Twain's stories completely in a foreign tongue. Much of the humor depends on dialect and local customs and conditions, unfamiliar to German readers, and untranslatable word plays occur from time to time. Moreover even the type of humor was almost foreign to the Germans. The prevailing humor of Germany was of the Sterne–Jean Paul–Dickens type, which mingled sympathetic

[32] Eckermann, *Gespräche*, 28.
[33] Hemminghaus [1404] 15 f.

smiles and sentimental tears. Mark Twain's humor was at once more boisterous and more reticent. He was ashamed of all sentimentality and even treated his own misfortunes as a huge joke. This was not regarded as in the best of form, and, much as in America, Mark Twain was not thought to be a man of letters of the highest class, but *The Prince and the Pauper*, for example, gave more offense in Europe than here, and Richard Wülker, for one, wished that Mark Twain had curbed his tendency toward the burlesque in *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court.*[34] The publication of *Life on the Mississippi* led the critics to regard the author as a serious portrayer of American life.

Mark Twain visited the Continent three times, in 1878, 1891, and 1898. During the latter two visits he was much feted and, as everywhere, became personally popular. His seventieth birthday in 1905 was the occasion of many appreciative comments in the journals. His death in 1910 was widely mourned.

In the course of time the stories of Mark Twain began to be introduced into the schools. An abridged textbook edition of *The Prince and the Pauper* was first in the field in 1895, followed by one of *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* in 1890 and of *A Tramp Abroad* in 1903. Tom Sawyer and Huckleberry Finn long remained schoolboy heroes.

In the most general way we may say that four conceptions of America have prevailed in Germany, based in succession on the novels of Cooper, then on the novels of Ruppius and his group, next on the novels of Mark Twain, and finally on Hollywood films, but Mark Twain's popularity was not confined to the juvenile public. During the period 1871–1917 there were at least 130 translations or reprints of his works in Germany. Bret Harte of all American novelists seemed second in popularity with 107 translations and reprints.[35]

Chiefly owing to Mark Twain the existence of an American literature came to be recognized in Germany, and to the serious pursuit of the subject of "Amerikakunde" a thorough knowledge of Mark Twain's works is deemed essential. American critics have done their share to make him better understood. Archibald Henderson contributed two discussions to the *Deutsche Revue* in 1909 and 1911, and Charles Alphonso Smith devoted much attention to him in his lectures as Roosevelt Professor at the University of Berlin 1910–1911.[36] Henderson laid stress on the more serious work of Mark Twain's recent years, *The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg, Joan of Arc, In Defense of Harriet Shelley,* and *Was it Heaven or Hell.* On the basis of these works he attributed to Mark Twain

[34] AB, II (1891) 11.
[35] Vollmer [1164].
[36] Smith [1160].

a "Weltanschauung" without which in Germany no author is taken seriously. The lectures of Smith served a similar purpose. The appearance of Mark Twain's *Letters* in 1917 and of his *Autobiography* in 1925 stimulated German interest in his personality. The frustration theory of Van Wyck Brooks in *The Ordeal of Mark Twain*, 1920, was seriously discussed and rejected in the leading German monograph on the subject, *Mark Twain als literarische Persönlichkeit*, 1925, by F. Schoenemann.

All this we may say in regard to the translations of the works of Mark Twain and their reception at the hands of the public, young and old, uncritical and critical, but of literary influence nothing can be said. There can also be no second Mark Twain in America.

Chapter XXVI

NEW CONCEPTS OF DEMOCRACY

Hazardous as it is to attempt to write the history of one's own time, and to look back with proper perspective upon a half century during which cultural interchange was hampered by a fog of political hostilities, still some discussion of that period seems called for here. It may at least be safe to inquire what American and English poets, dramatists, and novelists, and for what reasons, have found favor or disfavor with the German men of letters and the German public.

The opening of the twentieth century found Germany but mildly interested in contemporary English literature but obsessed with the problem of England's world power. Germans also discussed with interest the racial theories of Gobineau and of the English-born Houston Stewart Chamberlain. A work by Paul Rohrbach, *Der deutsche Gedanke in der Welt,* 1912, had a sale of 192,000 copies by 1920. This essay inquired why Germany had never attained the world power acquired by England, and the answer was that the German will had never been consecrated sufficiently to that end. A deeper impression on the world at large was made by Spengler's *Untergang des Abendlandes,* 1918–1922, the central thought of which might be summed up by the words: "Weltmacht oder Untergang." One of the most widely read novels of the period was Hans Grimm's *Volk ohne Raum,* 1926. It pictured Germany as so overpopulated as to leave its youth no room for advancement, while in the colonial world England had everywhere gained a foothold before it, denying it all entry.

During these years a British philosopher came into renewed honor—the Scotsman Thomas Carlyle with his idea of natural kingship and his thoughts on heroes and hero worship. Of English authors only Shakespeare, Dickens, Marryat, Scott, Defoe, Swift, and Bulwer-Lytton exceeded him in popularity.[1] No stylistic influence of Thomas Carlyle in Germany could be discernible since his cumbrous paragraphs are themselves Germanic. Early in the twentieth century Carlyle's popularity in Germany began to overtake Byron's.

Reëditions of Byron's works and new translations had been numerous during the first decade of the century and at least three important Byron biographies had appeared in Germany[2] and this was precisely the time when naturalism was coming into prominence. Gerhart Hauptmann recovered from his Byronic fever at the outset of his career, and withdrew

[1] Schlösser [1558].
[2] Brandes, 1900; Ackermann, 1901. Cf. [1348]; Koeppel, 1903.

his *Promethidenlos*, 1885, so soon from circulation that only the inner circle of his acquaintances had seen it, but Schlenther reported: "Der Einfluß des *Childe Harold* von Byron ist nicht nur in den Versmaßen sondern auch in dem ganzen Stil, in Stimmung und Inhalt fühlbar."[3] No later works of Hauptmann can properly be termed Byronic.

One late echo of Byronic declamation, at least, has been heard in contemporary German drama. A passage in Toller's *Maschinenstürmer* is a dramatic paraphrase of Byron's maiden speech in the House of Lords.[4] It cannot well be said, however, that there is any Byronic school of poetry in Germany today. Few poets or prophets have arisen to tear the mask of hypocrisy from the ruling class, or to speak for the oppressed among their own people, or like Albert Schweitzer to consecrate their lives to the betterment of a foreign race.

In the early 1930's three important biographies of Byron appeared in three countries, written by André Maurois, Ethel Colburn Mayne, and Helene Richter. This led a German critic to inquire: "Was ist uns heute Lord Byron?" The critic recalled the esteem in which Byron was held by Goethe, Bismarck, and Treitschke, and also by Arndt who had admired the closing visions of *Lara* and had asserted "daß sie dem Geiste der *Edda* entstammten," and who had called Byron "einen in die moderne Welt verpflanzten Skalden." The critic referred to Houston Stewart Chamberlain, who admired Byron for lifting the hypocritical mask from British liberalism, and also to the Frenchman Gobineau who found Byron's bold assertion of his own individuality typically Germanic.

Coming then to the question of Byron's importance to Germany at the time of writing, he referred to Byron's political and social views. Byron, he said, hated demagogy more than royal absolutism, saying, "und wenn wir denn einen Tyrannen haben müssen, so laßt ihn wenigstens einen Gentleman sein." Byron was one of the first in England to call attention to the "Allmacht der Juden," against which even the pope was powerless; and Byron was always the defender of the oppressed peoples, a stand which should be appreciated in Germany, "da wir selbst in erster Linie zu den Geknechteten gehören."[5]

To those who admired Byron for such reasons the name of Walt Whitman was anathema, but Whitman meanwhile had found zealous admirers in a far different group. Before 1919 the account of Whitman in Germany was chiefly a history of nonunderstandings and misunderstandings. The earliest attempt at translating Whitman's poems had been made by Freiligrath who became acquainted with them during his Eng-

[3] Paul Schlenther, *Gerhart Hauptmann*, neue Ausgabe, Berlin, 1922, 34.
[4] Bell [1576].
[5] Schemann [1575].

lish exile in 1868. William Rossetti, the brother of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, had published a Whitman anthology, in which *Drum Taps* constituted one group. Freiligrath had published a translation of some of these poems in the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung* with an introduction which chiefly paraphrased Rossetti's preface.[6] Freiligrath was aware of the peculiarity of Whitman's rhythm but failed to reproduce it in his versions.

The next translator was Freiligrath's friend Strodtmann, whose efforts appeared in his *Amerikanische Anthologie*, 1870. He was slightly more successful than Freiligrath in reproducing the rhythms of Whitman's poems, but like Freiligrath he sometimes misinterpreted Whitman's meanings. The Irish critic, Rolleston, and the long-time German resident in America, Knortz, published their translations jointly in Zürich under the title *Grashalme* in 1889 but they failed to recognize Whitman's metrical form. In his introduction Knortz wrote: "Die Sprache der Übersetzung wird den meisten Lesern holprig, steif und unedel vorkommen; mit den Originalen sieht es in dieser Hinsicht noch viel schlimmer aus."

Passing over the scattered translations of the remainder of the century we should note Schölermann's *Grashalme in Auswahl* and Karl Federn's *Grashalme, eine Auswahl*, both of 1904. Schölermann was duly criticized for embellishing two of Whitman's poems with rhymes.[7] Federn's translations were, in many instances, more poetic than those of his predecessors. By his edition of Whitman's *Prosaschriften* in the following year, O. E. Lessing extended the knowledge of Whitman considerably, without making all sides of his nature accessible to the German public. Lessing's translation of "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloomed" has been recognized as "sprachlich . . . wie auch stylistisch dem Original nicht nachstehend."[8]

About 1904 opinion began to turn for a time in Whitman's disfavor. By then Johannes Schlaf had established himself as an authority on Whitman, but when, in that year, he wrote the Whitman monograph for *Die Dichtung*, Eduard Bertz exposed him as an incompetent, who had read less than one-tenth of Whitman's published works, and whose translations were based not on the original but on earlier translations. Bertz doubted whether Schlaf was able to read English. At the same time Bertz, long a confirmed Whitmanite, published in the *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen* an article called "Walt Whitman, ein Charakterbild,"[9] and shortly afterward supported his new revelations with *Cala-*

[6] *Loc. cit.*, May 10, 1868.
[7] Prellwitz in PrJ, LXIX (1905) 176–181.
[8] Law-Robertson [1623] 20, 22.
[9] *Loc. cit.*, VII 1 (1905).

muslieder, Der Yankee Heiland and *Whitman Mysterien, eine Abrechnung mit Johannes Schlaf.* Bertz's defection drew O. E. Lessing's in its wake.[10]

Nearly all publications of Whitman's works in Germany were linked with critical estimates of the poet revealing the ebb and flow of German social political thought more accurately than they portray Whitman's message. Rolleston and Knortz, from 1880–1889, proclaimed Whitman as "Der Dichter der Demokratie." Eduard Bertz said much the same in 1889. Widmann in 1889 compared him with Jacob Boehme and Angelus Silesius.[11] In 1896 Johannes Schlaf compared Whitman with Nietzsche,[12] in 1910 rather with Jesus of Nazareth,[13] in agreement with the Bostonian, R. M. Bucke, who had published Whitman's war letters in 1898. This comparison was by no means estopped by the revelations of Bertz (1905) mentioned above. The next work of Bertz, *Der Yankee Heiland* (1906), established an important fact. In a chapter entitled "Whitman und Nietzsche" it pointed out that the much discussed coincidence of their ideas went back to a common source in Novalis, transmitted to Whitman through Carlyle.

The Social Democrats rediscovered Whitman about 1915. Gustav Landauer translated several poems under the title *Walt Whitman, Krieg, zehn Gedichte,* and from 1915–1931 the *Socialistische Monatshefte* printed sixty translations of Whitman's poems by Hayek, Hochdorf, Curth, and Brüchner, most of them rather poor as translations[14] but full of democratic enthusiasm.

From 1914 on Whitman was much celebrated as "Der Sänger des Krieges" especially by the Social Democrats who counted Whitman as one of themselves: "Wenn wir Sozialismus mit Gemeinschaft übersetzen und Demokratie mit Freiheit, so ist er der beste und wahrhafteste Sozialdemokrat und der internationalste dazu."[15]

After the armistice Herbert Eulenberg proclaimed Whitman as a pacifist before the word existed.[16] A French, a German, and an American journal seriously discussed the question as to whether Wilson's fourteen points owed their origin to Whitman's works. About the same time an American, an English, and a German-Austrian paper commented upon the astonishingly accurate prophecy of Whitman in his *Years of the Modern.*[17] Stefan Zweig asserted that Whitman was

[10] "Die Whitmanlegende," *Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung* (1907) 63; "Zur deutschen Whitmanliteratur," *Oesterreichische Rundschau* (1907) 2; Lessing [1616].
[11] *Magazin für die Literatur des In- und Auslandes,* XXXVII (1889) 584.
[12] Law-Robertson [1623] 41.
[13] *Ibid.,* 46.
[14] *Ibid.,* 27.
[15] A. Siemsen in *Freie Jugend* I 1 (1919). Law-Robertson [1623] 71.
[16] H. Eulenberg, *Erscheinungen,* 1923; Law-Robertson [1623] 73.
[17] Jacobson [1621].

die stärkste Energiequelle, das höchste Maß an Menschlichkeit in der neueren Dichtung. Ein Vierteljahrhundert nach seinem Tode ist er der Menschheit noch dumpf bewußt in seiner Größe, die doch bloß einzig der Ferne bedarf, um neben den mythischen Gestalten Dantes und Homers zu stehen.[18]

A critic of the opposite party wrote with some vehemence in 1936:

Der Whitman, den wir in deutscher Sprache herausbrachten, [hat] auch sehr viel Undeutsches gefördert und eher zur Verirrung deutscher Seelen beigetragen. . . . Und sieht man sich die Namen der hauptsächlichsten Whitman-Jünger an: neben Schlaf etwa Franz Diederich, Max Hayek, Gustav Landauer, Iwan Goll, A. Siemsen, Stefan Zweig, Kurt Pinthus, Ludwig Rubiner, Joh. R. Becher, u.a.m., so weiß man genauestens Bescheid über das Deutschtum, das hier zu Worte kam.[19]

Exaggerated statements have been made regarding the influence of Whitman on German verse.[20] Arno Holz developed his theory before he was familiar with the nature of Whitman's work. He read Freiligrath's translations and received no impression whatsoever from them. In 1889 he read the selections of Rolleston and Knortz and reported:

Und jetzt erst wirkte Walt Whitman selbst auf mich. Er wirkte so ungeheuer, daß ich sofort fühlte: der Mann deckt sich so vollkommen mit seiner Art; was mit ihr zu erreichen war, ist durch ihn so erreicht worden, daß es purer Wahnwitz wäre, an diesen Weg auch nur ein Schritt zu verlieren! Damit war für mich als Künstler Walt Whitman erledigt.[21]

The admiration Holz had for Whitman as a personality was unbounded. Holz lent Rolleston's work about and reported: "Hauptmann fand es unverdaulich, seinen Optimismus pathologisch,"[22] and Schlaf's enthusiasm resulted in mere imitation. Holz found the first sign of this in Schlaf's *Frühling*, 1893. "Diese Dichtung," he said, "schätze ich außerordentlich, aber sie ist nicht mehr Schlaf, sondern Schlaf minus Whitman. Plus läßt sich in solchen Fällen nicht sagen!"[23]

Frühling became the program of the new impressionistic school. There are signs of Whitman's influence, directly or indirectly transmitted, in certain poems in Alfons Paquet's *Auf Erden*. Paquet himself admits the influence with some reservations. The imputed influences on other impressionists, notably on Hermann Bahr, Otto zur Linde,[24] and Richard Dehmel will not stand the test of close examination.

[18] *Neue Freie Presse*, Wien, März 28, 1919; Law-Robertson [1623] 73.

[19] ZfNU, XXXVI (1938) 356. At the same time Schoenemann called attention to an omission in Law-Robertson's bibliography, namely of five poems of Whitman in the collection *Amerikanische Lyrik*, München, 1925, trsl. Toni Harten-Hoenke, with an introduction by F. Schoenemann.

[20] Cf. R. M. Meyer in DR, CIX (1900) 276, and Soergel, *Dichtung und Dichter der Zeit . . .*, 1911, 532.

[21] Arno Holz, *Werke*, Berlin, 1924, X, 301.

[22] *Ibid.*, 301 f.

[23] *Ibid.*, 302.

[24] Law-Robertson [1623] 66 ff.

That Whitman has made school in Germany is generally admitted, but too many poets have been listed as his disciples. The enumerative style so characteristic of Whitman has no common denominator short of the universe. It is an expression of a pantheistic feeling, but neither enumeration nor pantheism is evidence in itself of the influence of Whitman. Rilke and Whitman arrived at their pantheism by different paths; Rilke from the abstract to the concrete, Whitman by the contrary course. "Whitman is the sensualistic, Rilke the spiritualistic pantheist."[25] Werfel's poetry is of a similar nonsensual origin. Heinrich Hart apparently developed his enumerative style independently of Whitman. The same may or may not be true of Lissauer and Winckler. On the other hand it is certain that Pacquet and Lersch knew and venerated Whitman.[26] Engelke had a volume of Whitman with him in the trenches. The influence of Whitman is obvious in his posthumous collection of verse *Rhythmus des neuen Europa.* Wegner and Lersch adopted lines from Whitman as introductions to their collections of verse. Franz Werfel also wrote his early lyrics under the spell of Whitman.

In 1919–1921 appeared the translations of Hans Reisiger, on which he had been quietly working since 1909. The German critics recognized the achievement. Hermann Stehr said: "Reisigers Übersetzung wirkt wie das Original, wirklich so, als habe der große Amerikaner nicht in englischer sondern in deutscher Sprache gedichtet."[27] The *Kunstwart* exclaimed: "Walt Whitman ist entdeckt. Ein deutscher Dichter hat ihn entdeckt. Gespürt, geahnt, gerühmt, auf ihre Art übersetzt haben ihn schon viele. Doch erst Hans Reisiger hat ihn entdeckt und erobert."[28]

Thomas Mann's discovery of Walt Whitman, through the translation of Reisiger, was a decisive revelation to him. In the *Frankfurter Zeitung* he wrote an open letter to Reisiger, saying:

> Für mich persönlich, der ich innerlich um die Idee der Humanität seit Jahr und Tag mit der mir eigenen Langsamkeit bemüht bin, . . . ist dies Werk ein wahres Gottesgeschenk, denn ich sehe wohl, daß, was Whitman Demokratie nennt, nichts anderes ist, als was wir altmodischer "Humanität" nennen; wie ich auch sehe, daß es mit Goethe allein denn doch nicht getan wird, sondern daß ein Schuß Whitman dazu gehört, um das Gefühl der neuen Humanität zu gewinnen.[29]

In his notable address, "Von deutscher Republik," 1923, Mann reported shortly after:

> Was folgte war eine auf neuer Lebensstufe wiederholte im Zusammenhang mit künstlicher Arbeit gepflogene Lektüre der Schriften Friedrichs von Hardenberg . . .

[25] Schumann [1624].
[26] Schumann [1625].
[27] *Vossische Zeitung,* November 17, 1919; Law-Robertson [1623] 30.
[28] *Loc. cit.,* XXXVI (February 1923).
[29] April 16, 1922; the letter in full in Law-Robertson [1623] 73 f.

dessen Gedanken über Staat und Menschengemeinschaft mir so merkwürdige Beziehungen aufzuweisen schienen zu dem lyrischen Amerikanertum, das so eben auf mich gewirkt, daß meine heutige Aussprache eigentlich als ein Vortrag über dies wunderliche Paar, über Novalis und Whitman entworfen war.[30]

Such words from the patrician Mann made no small sensation at the time. They constituted his first open declaration in favor of democracy. Mann quoted Whitman to the effect that the highest aim of democracy was to bind all men of all nations into a common brotherhood, and repeated the hope of Novalis for a "Staat der Staaten."[31] He took issue with Spengler's "Verkalkungs-Prophetie."[32] He quoted "anachronistischerweise" Novalis against Nietzsche: "Das Ideal der Sittlichkeit hat keinen gefährlicheren Nebenbuhler als das Ideal der höchsten Stärke, des kräftigen Lebens, das man auch das Ideal der ästhetischen Größe benannt hat."[33] But finally he made a comparison to the disadvantage of Novalis: "Die *Calamus-Gesänge* und die *Hymnen an die Nacht;* das ist ja ein Unterschied wie zwischen Leben und Tod oder, wenn Goethes Bestimmung dieser Begriffe die richtige ist, der Unterschied des klassischen und des romantischen."[34]

Whitman's "Knabenverehrung," he said, was more healthful than the "Sophienliebe des armen Novalis, der es klug fand, Entschlummerte zu lieben, um sich 'für die Nacht' ein geselliges Lager zu bereiten, und, in dessen Abendmahl-Erotik die reizbare Lüsternheit des Phthisikers unheimlich durchschlägt." Thus he came upon the question of love and death which Whitman regarded as inseparable.

Give me your tone therefore O death, that I may accord with it,
Give me yourself, for I see that you belong to me now above all, and are folded inseparably together, you, love and death are.

And he added: "Es könnte Gegenstand eines Bildungromanes sein zu zeigen, daß das Erlebnis des Todes zuletzt ein Erlebnis des Lebens ist, daß es zum Menschen führt."[35]

The "künstliche Arbeit" which accompanied the reading of Whitman and Novalis, was *Der Zauberberg*, 1924, the dominant idea of which Hans Castorp expresses in words not unlike the foregoing:

Der Tod ist das geniale Prinzip . . . denn die Liebe zu ihm führt zur Liebe des Lebens und des Menschen . . . Zum Leben gibt es zwei Wege: der eine ist der gewöhnliche, direkte und brave, der andere ist schlimm, er führt über den Tod, und ist der geniale.

[30] *Op. cit.*, in Thomas Mann, *Bemühungen*, Berlin, 1925, 166.
[31] *Ibid.*, 178 f.
[32] *Ibid.*, 177.
[33] *Ibid.*, 171.
[34] *Ibid.*, 186. Cf. Goethe to Eckermann, April 2, 1829: "Das Klassische nenne ich das Gesunde, und das Romantische das Kranke." Eckermann, *Gespräche*, 400.
[35] Mann, *Bemühungen*, 186–188.

By the time *Der Zauberberg* appeared, it was clear that irony was a driving power in Mann's production. Its utilization is most brilliantly manifested in *Joseph der Ernährer*, 1944. Thomas Mann has stated that during the creation of this work his steady companions were Sterne's *Tristram Shandy* and Goethe's *Faust*. These were the works, the contemplation of which helped to keep him in the right mood.[36] The artifices which Sterne used to perhaps no nobler intent than "to amuse the light-minded and scandalize the demure"[37] are with Mann poetic irony in the sense of Aristophanes and of the romantic school. After the manner of Sterne, Mann plays with his language, takes issue with his sources, addresses his characters and addresses his readers.[38] Mann's irony in *Joseph der Ernährer* is "die hohe wohlwollende Ironie" which was praised so highly by Goethe. The same mannerisms are even more observable in Mann's *Doktor Faustus*, 1948, and here too he displays an art in the naming of his characters well worthy of Sterne. The irony is there too, but with its benevolence slightly diminished. On the whole it may be said that the direction of Thomas Mann since his maturity has been away from the extraordinary man, away from Faustus, Nietzsche, and Wagner, and toward the common man, toward Sterne, Tolstoi, and Whitman.

Of the new British dramatic forces active in German literature of late, the most conspicuous are Oscar Wilde, of Irish descent, and Bernard Shaw, who felt keenly that he was Irish rather than English. In Oscar Wilde the Germans discovered, as they had in Byron, a martyr to social prejudice. The years of the climax of his glory were between 1891 and 1895. *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1891) was well known and it was rumored that a new work called *Salome* was to be produced in London with Sarah Bernhardt in the title role. Oscar Wilde found his kindred spirits in Paris. Mallarmé's Tuesdays suddenly became a center of literary life, and among the foreign visitors were Stephan George and Oscar Wilde, although it is not certain that they ever met. *Fin de siècle* and *fin de l'empire* were associated in thought. The "decadent" Verlaine, Mallarmé, and Gautier, shared a common admiration for the emperor Heliogabalus and of all living men Wilde most nearly personified this ideal in his extravagance, love of pleasure, personal appearance, and sexuality. A recent critic regards it as at least a noteworthy coincidence "that Heliogabalus-Wilde, in the flesh, and Heliogabalus-George, in a young poet's fancy, walked the world of Paris in the same days."[39]

After Wilde's imprisonment he still had admirers and defenders in Paris, and Germany, who helped to restore him to honor. In the first

[36] Thomas Mann, *The Theme of the Joseph Novels*, Washington, D.C., 1942, 15 f.
[37] H. D. Traill, *Laurence Sterne*, N.Y., 1882, 36.
[38] Seidlin [1615]. [39] Oswald [1629].

decade of the century all his chief works were translated. From 1900 to 1934 no other English author passed through so many editions as Wilde, 225 in all. Dickens, his nearest rival, scored "only" 220.[40]

The leading critics of 1903–1906, Franz Blei, Max Meyerfeld, Samuel Lublinski, Alois Brandl, and Richard Schaukal, discussed Wilde's works. There were those who censured his dandyism, his aesthetic snobbery, and his vices, but, like Lord Byron, he found more tolerance in Germany than in England. In 1917 Egon Friedell called *The Picture of Dorian Gray* "das Evangelium der Reinheit, . . . ein tiefsittliches Buch, durchblutet von der verzehrenden Sehnsucht nach dem Guten, . . . die moralischste Dichtung nach der Bibel."[41]

However that may be, it was rather a lurid Oriental drama of Wilde which had a following in Germany. The earliest performances of *Salome* were in private theaters on account of censorship. In 1903–1904 it gained the official stage and during that season Wilde's plays were represented 248 times (*Salome* alone 111 times) and this was in a year when Hauptmann, Sudermann, and Ibsen all provided strong competition. *Salome* was condemned by some as an example of modern decadence in art and heralded by others as a triumph of romanticism over the prevailing naturalism, which is the matter that chiefly concerns us here.

The *Elektra*, 1903, of Hugo von Hofmannsthal comes first to mind. It has been made clear by Friedrich Hebbel that the nonconforming individual is the natural subject for a tragedy. Hebbel's characters tended to be tragic because the time was not yet ripe for them, but the characters of the neoromantic drama are atavistic, impelled by elemental and primitive passions which modern life has decided to call outlived and outlawed. The new psychology, which is generally associated with the studies of Freud, asserts that the suppression of such passions is detrimental to the individual and may even be detrimental to society. At all events these primitive passions form the favorite material for the neoromantic tragedy. A decadent age, such as that of the late Renaissance, forms a suitable milieu for such a tragedy, but still more suitable is the Orient. Flaubert was perhaps the first to discover this, but Wilde, no doubt after reading *Salambo*, saw fit to use such an atmosphere for his tragedy *Salome*.

Proceeding from such considerations, a recent critic, equally apathetic to Wilde and Hofmannsthal, has sought to define the relation of the one to the other. He says:

Ohne die Tat Wildes hätte Hofmannsthal es kaum wagen können seinen Lesern Gestalten wie Elektra und Schilderungen wie die der Ermordung ihrer Eltern vorzu-

[40] Schlösser [1558] 172 f.
[41] *Die Schaubühne*, Berlin, 1917, 591.

setzen. Er ist in keiner Beziehung über Wilde hinausgegangen, ja, in der Führung der Handlung selbst hat er sich an Wilde angelehnt . . . Wildes *Salome* ist uns durch die fast maßlose Kunst noch erträglich gemacht aber Hofmannsthals *Elektra* entbehrt dieses Anreizes bereits. Dazu kommt noch der Vergleich mit der Sophokleischen Tragödie, natürlich immer zu Hofmannsthals Ungunsten ausfallend.[42]

There followed *Das gerettete Venedig*, 1905, and *Oedipus und die Sphynx*, 1906. The fundamental changes which Hofmannsthal made in the chief characters led away from Otway and Sophocles and toward the complexes of Oscar Wilde's heroes. Defieber characterizes Hofmannsthal as an aesthetically based individual, a dandy, in much the same sense as Oscar Wilde. The French theorists who insisted on "L'art pour l'art" arrived at their demand by rationalistic processes. The two chief British and Viennese exponents were forced upon the theory by their own natures. The passion for sheer meaningless beauty brought suffering as well as satisfaction for both. Hofmannsthal felt the need of penetrating the outward shell of beauty and arriving at its content. "Nur Oskar Wilde hatte den Mut und die Tatkraft aus dem Nichtkönnen ein Nichtwollen zu machen."[43]

Defieber finds the spell of Wilde wholly detrimental to Herbert Eulenberg in three of his dramas, *Anna Walewska*, 1899, *Cassandra*, 1903, and *Belinde*, 1912. The character of Hyazinth in *Belinda*, he describes as "ein Konglomerat aus Tatsachen aus dem Leben Wildes und dessen ästhetischen Motiven . . . und eine widerliche Widerspiegelung von Oscar Wildes Wesen." He adds: "Eulenbergs Gestalten endlich, soweit die *Salome* ihr Vorbild war, machen einen fast widerlichen Eindruck."[44]

The popularity of Oscar Wilde began about 1901 and was at its height between 1902 and 1910. George Bernard Shaw's success in Germany began in 1903 and continued for thirty years or more. On a visit to London in 1900 Trebitsch, already an admirer of Shaw, gained the permission to translate some of his plays into German. He translated several in a rather inadequate fashion. Shaw returned the compliment by translating one of Trebitsch's plays similarly. Shaw and Wilde did not compete in the same field. To be sure, both took pleasure in astonishing remarks, but Wilde was willing to sacrifice ideas for brilliant sayings and genteel form, while Shaw was ready to sacrifice form for the promulgation of principles.

The Devil's Disciple, *Arms and the Man*, *Candida*, and *The Man of Destiny* made Shaw known in Berlin, Frankfurt, Dresden, and Vienna

[42] Defieber [1628] 81, 128 f.
[43] *Ibid.*, 108.
[44] *Ibid.*, 120, 128.

in 1903. The success of *The Devil's Disciple* at the Raimund Theater in Vienna and elsewhere, and of *Candida* at the Neues Theater in Berlin under Max Reinhardt's direction, with Agnes Sorma in the title role in 1904, gained for Shaw the support of many German critics, among them Alfred Kerr, Arthur Eloesser, Julius Bab, Hermann Bahr, Alfred Polgar, and Felix Salten. Bab wrote a biography of Shaw which was published in Berlin in 1910. (Revised edition, 1926).

During the season 1903–1904 there were thirty-nine representations of Shaw's plays in Germany and Austria. In the following season the number was increased by a round hundred.[45] Not all the plays found equal favor. In 1906 *Caesar and Cleopatra* was played more than twenty times and *Mrs. Warren's Profession* became the hit of the season at the Raimund Theater in Vienna in the same year. *The Doctor's Dilemma* was a success in 1908. Less fortunate were *You Never Can Tell*, *The Philanderer*, and *Man and Superman*, which appealed less strongly to German than British audiences. *Major Barbara*, *John Bull's Other Island*, and *Widowers' Houses* were accepted only with reservations. *Fanny's First Play* was found neither interesting nor amusing. *Androcles and the Lion* fared not much better. *Captain Brassbound's Conversion* with Agnes Sorma in the cast was a success in Berlin but a failure in Vienna. The next unqualified success was *Pygmalion*, played at the Burgtheater in Vienna in 1913, then in the Lessing Theater in Berlin before it was staged either in New York or London. After the first world war *Great Catherine*, *Heartbreak House*, and *Back to Methuselah* were looked upon chiefly as curiosities. Shaw finally triumphed again with *St. Joan*, 1924, which despite divided critical opinions was immediately recognized as a drama of world importance.

Shaw has had opponents as well as supporters in Germany. Chief among the former was Herbert Eulenberg. Julius Bab characterized his *Gegen Shaw*, 1926, as an example of the lowest type of polemic and maintained that Eulenberg misunderstood the simplest and clearest part of Shaw's message.[46]

An influence of Shaw upon German playwrights would be difficult to demonstrate. It should appear in the form of a tendency to sacrifice dramatic compactness to the purpose of surprising the hearers with unusual bits of wisdom and at the same time attacking the hypocrisy of certain nationalistic, capitalistic, and aristocratic ideas. That such tendencies have been evident in the German drama will scarcely be denied. There are Shavian confrontations in some of the early dramas of Her-

[45] Schlösser [1558] 99.
[46] Bab, quoted by Heydet [1611] 124 f.

mann Bahr, *Der Unmensch*, *Der Meister*, and *Das Prinzip*. Bahr's *Josephine* (1898) runs parallel in many respects to Shaw's *Man af Destiny*.

Lion Feuchtwanger insisted that Shaw exerted a strong influence, both on the German stage and the German playwrights. He wrote in the *London Daily Mail:*

> There are few German dramatic writers who have not been influenced by him. My own plays would have been quite different but for him. He is regarded as a classic as much in the provinces as in Berlin. . . . While our great dramatist Sudermann has long disappeared from the stage, while the dramatists of the Viennese school have long fallen in the background, while even Hauptmann occupies a very limited place in the repertoire of the German theater, Bernard Shaw since the war reigns supreme.[47]

About ten years later another critic wrote with conviction, "daß Shaws 30-jährige Gastrolle im großen und ganzen abgeschlossen ist. Man hat ihn schon zu lange gekannt und vielleicht zu gut kennen gelernt, als daß er uns gegenwärtig noch viel zu sagen hätte."[48]

Several other Irish playwrights have found their way to the German stage. Before 1930, productions took place of St. John Ervine's *The First Mrs. Selby*, Lady Gregory's *The Work-house Ward*, J. M. Synge's *The Shadow of the Glen*, *The Well of the Saints*, and *The Playboy of the Western World*, of W. B. Yeats's *The Land of Heart's Desire* and of James Joyce's *Exiles*.

The recent English theater was represented before 1930 by at least nine of Galsworthy's plays, by six of Somerset Maugham's plays, and by one play each of Laurence Housman, Arnold Bennett, Gilbert Chesterton and Robert Sheriff. T. S. Eliot's *Death in the Cathedral* and *The Cocktail Party* have found interested audiences in Germany. The Scottish drama has fared less well. James Barrie's *Quality Street* (*Im stillen Gäßchen*) was played in the Burgtheater in Vienna in 1941 but before that time neither *The Admirable Crighton* nor *Peter Pan* had been produced.[48]

Finally, some nonpredictable revivals of older English dramas should be noted in passing. Stefan Zweig wrote, in 1927, an adaptation of Jonson's *Volpone*, in which he shuffled the elements of the action and changed the character of the persons, for the most part to artistic disadvantage. The experiment did not result in a theatrical success.[49] On the other hand Bert Brecht's adaptation of Gay's *The Beggars' Opera*, his *Dreigroschen Oper* of 1928, became a long-enduring favorite. The serious old English drama was represented by Hofmannsthal's *Everyman*, 1911, by Richard

[47] See *Literary Digest* January 9, 1928. Re Bahr see Oswald GR XXVII (1952) 189.
[48] *Fifty Years of German Drama . . . 1880-1930*, Baltimore 1941 and Stahl [1562].
[49] See also Eckhardt [1561] and Beck [1598].

Beer-Hofmann's adaptation of Massinger's *The Fatal Dowry* under the title *Der Graf von Charolais*, 1905, by Bert Brecht's *Leben Eduards des Zweiten von England*, "nach Marlowe," 1924, and by John Ford's *Giovanni und Annabella* (*'Tis a Pity she's a Whore*), 1924.

Until recent years the German public has been justifiably unaware of the American drama, but since 1922 many of our successes have been repeated in Germany. The pioneer name is Eugene O'Neill. *Anna Christie* translated by Lengyel was played in Max Reinhardt's theater in January, 1922, and two years later *Kaiser Jones*, under the direction of Berthold Viertel, was staged in the Berlin Lustspielhaus. O'Neill impressed Felix Holländer, who heralded him as "ein neuer Mann, der mit frischen unverbrauchten Augen sieht, eine fremde Welt mit sicheren Strichen hinzustellen weiß."[50] In October of the same year *The Hairy Ape*, translated by Frank Washburn Freund and Else von Hollander, was played in Königsberg and *The Moon of the Caribbees* (German by Kauder) in the Berlin Volksbühne in December. Later still *Strange Interlude* with Elisabeth Bergner as Nina was a sensational success at the Künstlertheater. Julius Bab wrote in 1926: "Mit diesem O'Neill, der weitaus stärksten Physiognomie im Drama des letzten Jahrzehnts, beginnt das amerikanische Theater ein Faktor in der abendländischen Kulturgemeinschaft zu werden."[51]

The serious American drama has been further represented in Germany by Elmer Rice's *Street Scene* and *See Naples and Die*, by Robert Sherwood's *The Road to Rome*, staged by Melnitz at the Neues Theater in Frankfurt, and by Maxwell Anderson's *Outside Looking in* (*Zaungäste*) and the *Gods of Lightning* (*Wir haben nichts dagegen*). In the most recent years Thornton Wilder has become well known by productions of some of his best plays including *Our Town* (*Unsere kleine Stadt*) and *The Skin of our Teeth* (*Wir sind noch einmal davon gekommen*).

Broadway favorites have also had their run in the German theaters. Prominent in the German repertories 1927–1929 were *Front Page* (*Reporter*), translated by Rudolf Lothar, *The Trial of Mary Dugan*, adapted by Lothar, *Broadway*, translated by Klement, *Burlesque* (*Artisten*), adapted by Ossip Dymow, and *Abie's Irish Rose*, translated by Felix Salten. In 1950–1951 Tennessee Williams's *Straßenbahn Sehnsucht* was produced in Vienna. *What Price Glory* by Anderson and Stallings first appeared under the title *Rivalen* in a German film adaptation of the American film in 1927. It was greeted as an antiwar play and as such drew cheers from the audience. Zuckmayer developed certain passages into a tirade of the front-line soldiers against the rear echelons. Short speeches

[50] F. Hollander, *Lebendiges Theater* . . ., Berlin, 1932, 211.
[51] Julius Bab, *Das Theater der Gegenwart*, Leipzig, 1928, 212.

were lengthened into ponderous sentences and some translations of American slang were amusing. The discussion of the affairs of Charmaine was crass, and full of a vulgar wit, impossible on an American stage, but Monty Jacobs in the *Vossische Zeitung* commended these inventions as "ein ehrlicher angelsächsischer Humor, exportfähig, weil er in seiner Echtheit auf Widerhall ringsum in der Welt rechnen darf."[52]

During the last half century the novel of American social life has interested the Germans more than formerly. The late-nineteenth-century novels of the class invited the strictures of the critics. The American novel was too puritanical, it glorified women without cause, since women were no longer economically so important as in colonial times. It paid too much heed to social distinctions (Churchill's *Richard Carvel* and *Mr. Crewe's Career*, Howell's *The Rise of Silas Lapham*, and F. Hopkinson Smith's stories of the South). The stress laid upon the acquisition of wealth and power (*David Harum* and *The Honorable Peter Stirling*) was set over against the "ganz auf Innen gerichteten Lebensgeschichten Raabescher Gestalten."[53]

The American novel has mended its ways of late. It is certainly no longer overpuritanical. The career woman is taking the place of the household goddess on her rocking chair throne. The study of the inner life is gaining ascendency over the novel of worldly success. Jack London, Theodore Dreiser, Upton Sinclair, and the badly translated Sinclair Lewis were among the most highly respected novelists of the late 1920's.[54] *Main Street* and *Babbitt* to thoughtful readers were not smug glorifications but criticisms of "the American way of life."

During the 1930's works of literature which aroused thought on social problems were suppressed in Germany while "escape literature" was in no wise discouraged. About 300,000 copies of *Gone with the Wind* were sold. A more critical public was free to enjoy the novels of Willa Cather, Marquand, Prokosch, and Hemingway. Thomas Wolfe found favor with the best critics and gained popularity with the public as well. It was known in Germany that Sinclair Lewis had said in 1930 that Thomas Wolfe might "have a chance to be the greatest American writer," and possibly "one of the greatest world writers." Hermann Hesse called *Look Homeward Angel* the most impressive poetic work from present-day America. Wolfe was fortunate in his first translator, Hans Schickelhuth, *Schau heimwärts, Engel*, 1933, *Von Zeit und Strom*, 1936 (*Time and the*

[52] Cited by Steiner and Frenz [1571] 249.

[53] Schoenemann [1177].

[54] In an informal inquiry among lending libraries in Germany in 1920 the following were mentioned as "meist gelesene Autoren": Remarque, 20 times; Herzog, 19; Mann 18; Undset 18; Ganghofer 16; Wassermann 15; Upton Sinclair 14; Galsworthy 14. See *Uhu*, May, 1920.

River) and *Vom Tod zum Morgen*, 1937. The later *Web and the Rock* (*Strom des Lebens*), 1941, and *You Can't go Home Again* (*Es führt kein Weg zurück*, 1942) were badly translated but still found many readers and Wolfe's popularity continued into the 1950's. Favorable criticism, some of it extravagant, predominated. Of interest is the declaration that he carried on the tradition of Whitman, though with less joyous confidence.[55]

It was once said that the fame of an author in foreign lands during his lifetime afforded the best prognostication of his enduring fame. There are no such auspices to consult today, for leading authors such as Hesse, Rilke, Kafka, Mann; Anatole France, Gide, Romain Rolland; Shaw, T. S. Eliot; Jack London, Dreiser, Sinclair Lewis, and Thomas Wolfe become almost simultaneously known at home and abroad within the Atlantic hemisphere. They may be variously estimated, but national favor and national prejudice play no important role in the criticism.

The capital of this literature is everywhere and nowhere. The most active center of German literature might be at some time on some far-flung American coast. Such movements as naturalism, neoromanticism, and existentialism are confined to no one land. Sometimes it is dfficult to specify the country of origin. Even in our conservative universities there is a growing tendency to regard literature as a unity.

As I lay the last hand on this work I note without regret that it is already antiquated. There will be no further version of this summary. It is a two-sided treatment of a many-sided theme. "Ein Theil des Theils, der anfangs alles war." Future progress lies with such works as van Tieghem's *La Découverte de Shakespeare sur le continent*, Ermatinger's *Goethe und die Weltliteratur*, and Hazard's *La Pensée européenne au XVIIIe siècle de Montesquieu à Lessing;* but we have gone a long way since the publication of Max Koch's 40-page survey in 1883.

[55] Pusey [1630].

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ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Anglia Beiblatt
ADA	Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum
ADB	Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek
AG	Americana Germanica
AGR	American German Review
AL	Archiv für Literaturgeschichte
Am. Lit.	American Literature
ASNS	Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen
BBGRPh	Berliner Beiträge zur germanischen und romanischen Philologie (Germanische Abteilung)
BBL	Breslauer Beiträge zur Literaturgeschichte
BDL	Beiträge zur deutschen Literaturwissenschaft
BFDH	Berichte des freien deutschen Hochstifts zu Frankfurt
BGNDL	Bausteine zur Geschichte der neueren deutschen Literatur
BlU	Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung
BLVS	Bibliothek des Literatur-Vereins in Stuttgart
BSWFK	Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und freien Künste
CUGS	Columbia University Germanic studies
CWGV	Chronik des Wiener Goethe-Vereins
DLD	Deutsche Literaturdenkmale des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts
DLE	Deutsche Literatur . . . in Entwicklungsreihen
DLZ	Deutsche Literaturzeitung
DNL	(Kürschners) Deutsche Nationalliteratur
DNS	Die neueren Sprachen
DR	Deutsche Rundschau
DV	Dichtung und Volkstum
DVLG	Deutsche Vierteljahrschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte
ES	Englische Studien
FFDL	Freie Forschungen zur deutschen Literaturgeschichte
FNL	Forschungen zur neueren Literaturgeschichte
GAA	German-American Annals (new series)
GGA	Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen
GJ	Goethe-Jahrbuch
GLL	German Life and Letters
GpJ	Jahrbuch der Grillparzer-Gesellschaft
GQ	German Quarterly
GR	Germanic Review

GRM	Germanisch-romanische Monatsschrift
GS	Germanische Studien
IMWKT	Internationale Monatsschrift für Wissenschaft, Kunst und Technik (1907–1912 Int. Wochenschrift)
JbL	Jahresberichte für die neuere deutsche Literaturgeschichte (since 1921: Jahresberichte über die wissenschaftlichen Erscheinungen . . . Literatur)
JEGPh	Journal of English and Germanic Philology
JFDH	Jahrbuch des freien deutschen Hochstifts zu Frankfurt
LblGRPh	Literaturblatt für Germanische und Romanische Philologie
LE	Das literarische Echo
LF	Literarhistorische Forschungen
LZ	Literarisches Zentralblatt
MDU	Monatshefte für den deutschen Unterricht
MLA	Modern Language Association
MLF	Modern Language Forum
MLN	Modern Language Notes
MLQ	Modern Language Quarterly
MLR	Modern Language Review
MPh	Modern Philology
NADB	Neue allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek
NBSWFK	Neue Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und freyen Künste
NDL	Neudrucke deutscher Litteraturwerke des XVI und XVII Jahrhunderts
NF	Neue Forschungen
NJKA	Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, Geschichte und deutsche Literatur.
NQ	Notes and Queries
PAPC	Philological Association of the Pacific Coast
PDS	Prager deutsche Studien
PEGS	Publications of the English Goethe Society
PMLA	Publications of the Modern Language Association of America
PQ	Philological Quarterly
PrJ	Preußische Jahrbücher
QF	Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte der germanischen Völker
RC	Revue critique d'histoire de littérature (new series)
RDM	Revue des deux mondes
RES	Review of English Studies
RLC	Revue de littérature comparée

RSH	Revue de synthèse historique
RSSCW	Research Studies of the State College of Washington
SdSG	Schriften der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft. Neue Folge.
SGG	Schriften der Goethe-Gesellschaft
ShJ	Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft
SP	Studies in Philology
SVL	Studien zur vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte
ThF	Theatergeschichtliche Forschungen
UCPMPh	University of California Publications in Modern Philology
UNSL	Untersuchungen zur neueren Sprach- und Literaturgeschichte
VDPh	Versammlungen deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner
VGG	Vierteljahrschrift der Goethe Gesellschaft
VJSL	Vierteljahrschrift für Literaturgeschichte
VNS	Verein für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung
ZB	Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde (Roman numerals refer to "Jahrgänge" without reference to series.)
ZDA	Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum
ZDPh	Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie
ZDU	Zeitschrift für deutschen Unterricht
ZfA	Zeitschrift für Aesthetik
ZfD	Zeitschrift für Deutschkunde
ZfFEU	Zeitschrift für französischen und englischen Unterricht
ZfNU	Zeitschrift für neusprachlichen Unterricht
ZöG	Zeitschrift für die österreichischen Gymnasien
ZVL	Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literaturgeschichte. Neue Folge.

Other frequently cited serial publications are Euphorion, English Studies, Die Grenzboten, Hesperia, Palaestra, Probefahrten, and Teutscher Merkur.

PRELIMINARY NOTE

See first the table of contents on page vii and the list of abbreviations on pages 391–392. "Influences" are placed as far as possible under the century in which they occurred; e.g., that of Sterne on Heine in Part IV, "The Era of World Literature." Within the parts the arrangement is alphabetical; e.g., Part II, Addison [307] to Young [631]. Within the subdivisions the order is alphabetical according to the German author name; e.g. Addison and Bodmer [318] to Addison and Rabener [325]. The cross references do not aim to be complete.

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Introduction

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